

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



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U.S. Supreme Court turns deaf ear to Gary Tyler plea

By Scott Breen

NEW ORLEANS—On May 16 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Gary Tyler's appeal of his conviction on trumped-up murder charges. The court gave no reason for its action.

Tyler was convicted in November 1975 by an all-white jury on charges of murdering a white youth outside a Destrehan, Louisiana, high school. Shortly after his conviction, the only witness who testified that Tyler had fired a gun recanted, explaining she had been pressured to lie by the prosecution.

Tyler appealed his conviction to the U.S. Supreme Court after the Louisiana Supreme Court turned down a motion for a new trial last January.

Now eighteen, Tyler is serving a life sentence at hard labor in Angola State Prison.

Jack Peebles, Tyler's attorney, had requested the new trial from the Louisiana Supreme Court. The request was made for several reasons, including the recantation by the key prosecution witness and an important question of legal jurisdiction between the criminal and juvenile courts.

The jurisdictional question was the basis of Tyler's unsuccessful appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Tyler's attorneys will now file a writ of habeas corpus in the Louisiana judicial system seeking a new trial and requiring a review of the facts surrounding his case.

For more information, write the Gary Tyler Defense Fund at its new address: 344 Camp Street, Suite 200, New Orleans, Louisiana. Telephone: (504) 568-9890. Supporters are also asked to write Gary Tyler, #84156 at: Angola State Prison, Angola, Louisiana 70712.



GARY TYLER

Militant/Barbara Mutnick

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 41/NUMBER 20
MAY 27, 1977
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAY 18

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184. Washington Bureau: 1424 16th St. NW, #701-B, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$9.00 a year; outside U.S., \$14.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$36.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

NEW MOVE IN DRIVE TO DESTROY NAACP: The NAACP announced May 3 that racist white merchants in Port Gibson, Mississippi, are pressing ahead with their legal offensive aimed at crippling the civil rights organization.

Last August the merchants were awarded \$1.2 million in damages against the NAACP. They sued following a Black economic boycott in Port Gibson in the late 1960s. The NAACP would have been brought close to bankruptcy by a Mississippi law requiring it to post a \$1.6 million bond even to appeal this racist ruling. A federal court decision last fall permitted the NAACP to forgo the bond, averting a major crisis for the civil rights group. Now, however, the Port Gibson merchants have filed an appeal of this decision with the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins says the new moves show that the Mississippi racists "will persist until they have succeeded in crippling the association—or until they have been defeated, once and for all, in the courts, however long that process may take. . . ."

HAITIAN REFUGEES DEMAND WORK PERMITS: More than 1,600 refugees from Haiti's brutal Duvalier dictatorship are now living in Miami. On May 13 more than sixty Haitians and their supporters, including Puerto Rican community leader José Molina, demanded work permits for these refugees at hearings of the Dade County Community Relations Board.

The Haitians are currently also fighting attempts by the U.S. Immigration Department to deport them. Without work permits, the refugees have to rely on private charity for survival. If deported, most would face certain imprisonment or death at the hands of the Haitian regime.

Immigration Service lawyer Lee Irvin told the hearing that the government has no intention of changing its policy toward the Haitians.

MANZO FOUR OFFICIALLY FREE: Criminal indictments against four staff people at the Manzo Area Council—a Tucson, Arizona, community agency—were officially dropped April 6. The four had been charged with illegally counseling undocumented immigrants.

In the face of growing national support for the Manzo defendants, the government initially agreed to drop charges last March 8. In the formal announcement the U.S. attorney also confirmed withdrawal of an outrageous Immigration and Naturalization Service directive issued following the indictments. The directive barred counseling any undocumented person until that person first reported to the INS.

In return for dismissal of the charges, Manzo agreed to limit its counseling to undocumented people with "equity" here, that is, with a relationship with a U.S. citizen that would entitle them to remain here. This was a face-saver for the government, since this was the kind of counseling Manzo did to begin with.

BERKELEY CHICANO STUDIES LIBRARY: The Chicano Studies Library at the University of California in Berkeley is operating in only one-third of the space it needs according to university standards. Yet vice-chancellor Ira Heyman has failed to endorse a request by the library for the use of nearby vacant nonclassroom space.

Now a campus group, Friends of the Chicano Studies Library, is circulating a petition to build support for the library's request.

In addition to books, the library contains a multimedia collection of art slides, films, maps, and newspapers dating back to the 1800s, and archival material from throughout the Southwest.

THREATS TO GAY RIGHTS IN TEXAS: H.B. 1902, a new attack on gay rights, is now before the Texas legislature. The bill, submitted by State Rep. Clay Smothers (D-Dallas), would bar homosexual rights organizations from gaining official recognition on state-supported campuses. The furor over this issue began when the Gay Student Services Organization (GSSO) at Texas A & M University was refused recognition by the board of regents. The GSSO has since filed suit in federal court to overturn this discriminatory ruling.

NAZIS HARASS HOUSTON SOCIALISTS: Nazis defaced the Northeast Houston headquarters of the Socialist Workers party April 23. Swastikas were put up and a Nazi poster was glued across a window displaying a poster of Malcolm X. A message on the Nazi poster said, "Greetings race traitors, from the National Socialist White Workers party."

A statement denouncing the attack was released by Northeast Houston SWP branch organizer Rachel Knapik; Zoia Jones, president of the National Council for Negro Women; Isaiah Lovings, president of the O.P. Dewalt Branch of the NAACP; Willie Baker, vice-president of the

Acres Homes Community Council; and Demas Benoit, whose family has been prominent in the fight against police brutality in Northeast Houston.

"We deplore this threat against a legal political party. . . ." the statement said. "We call on the authorities concerned—the mayor, police, and federal government—to provide adequate protection against this threat." Gerald Birnberg, chairperson of the Houston Civil Liberties Union, also released a statement condemning political violence.

STAUFFERS CHEMICAL STRIKE: The 170 members of Local 294 of the International Chemical Workers Union and operating engineers have been on strike at the Stauffers Chemical Company in San Jose more than five weeks. The plant manufactures monosodium glutamate, the main ingredient used in the food additive Accent.

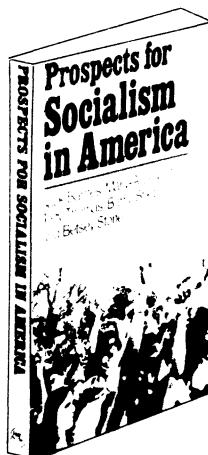
Although Stauffers, according to *Fortune* magazine, recorded more than \$1 billion in sales last year, the company is refusing to give its employees a cost-of-living wage increase or adequate medical and pension plans. The union is also demanding the institution of a dental plan. The strike has been sanctioned by the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council. A member of the negotiating committee pointed out that the workers want dignity—not the key chains the company passed out to workers to celebrate its billion-dollar sales last year.

ADMINISTRATORS WARNED ON YSA: Many campus administrators read the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. In the April 18 issue, they learned of the difficulties they can get into should they try to deny the democratic rights of members of the Young Socialist Alliance. An article—headlined "Socialists Charge Harassment by Central Michigan"—describes a lawsuit against Central Michigan University brought by three YSA members after they were arrested on trumped-up trespassing and "disruption" charges while distributing literature outside a campus meeting. The article tells how, in the course of the controversy over the lawsuit, it was revealed that the campus cops had been "cooperating with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Michigan state police 'Red Squad' from 1970 to 1975. . . ." It reports that CMU President Harold Abel "has said he might have acted differently during the confrontation [over YSA free speech rights] had he been aware of the cooperation" with the FBI. The article also says that university lawyer J. David Kerr "said a faculty committee had suggested that some of the university's rules be changed to facilitate free speech, and that Mr. Abel was in the process of doing that."

—Peter Seidman

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Final push in 14-week drive

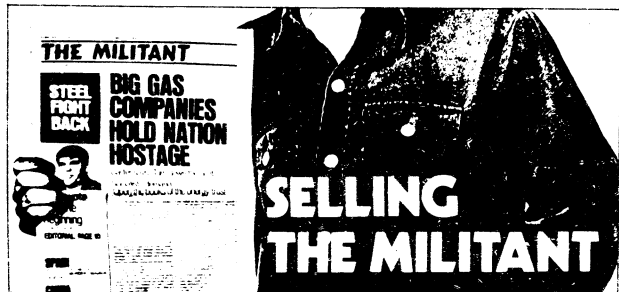
Steel plant sales get target week off and running

By Andrea Baron

The windup target week of the *Militant's* spring sales drive is off to a good start.

The main focus of the fourteen-week drive has been to increase and regularize sales of the *Militant* at plant gates and workplaces and to sell 10,000 issues each week.

One of the most successful sales efforts so far during this final week was in Minnesota's Iron Range. Socialists from St. Paul and Minneapolis sent sales teams to the giant Minntac plant in Mountain Iron and to several smaller plants and



towns in the area. The teams sold 260 copies of the *Militant*—including twenty-five subscriptions—to steelworkers.

The Minnesota teams took along bundles of a special free *Militant* supplement containing the official union summary of the new basic steel contract and a socialist analysis of the contract's many inadequacies.

St. Paul sales director Ralph Schwartz reports that at the Erie Mining Corporation in Hoyt Lakes, one team was forced to sell a mile-and-a-half down the road from the plant. So team members put up a big sign in the middle of the road announcing, "Steel contract here," and sold to workers driving up to the plant.

Los Angeles sales teams returned to the large Kaiser steel plant in Fontana, California. They sold more than fifty papers there over the weekend. Teams from Atlanta have returned to steel plants in

Birmingham, Alabama, for a two-day sales blitz.

Cleveland socialists have sold more than 180 copies so far this week, many of these at plant gates. Kathleen Fitzgerald, Cleveland Socialist Workers party organizer, says that sales at the steel plants were brisk.

"All you had to do was hold out the paper with its back cover on steel," she said, "and then whip it around to the front cover on Malcolm X, and everyone would stop."

"We've already sent teams to U.S. Steel in Lorain. And—to top off the week—we plan a big team to the steel plants in Youngstown, where we've had good sales before."

In Houston, sales teams go to the giant Hughes Tool plant every week. "The big achievement of this campaign was to make our plant-gate sales a regular, weekly event," says Tom Vernier, Houston sales director. "We sell regularly at seven plants each week. Now that we've been going back to the same places, people see us and come up with money in their hands to buy the *Militant*."

So far this week, Houston teams sold fifty *Militants* at Hughes Tool.

Salespeople in Dallas have had less experience with plant-gate sales, but sales director Marc

MacCrary thinks they are off to a good start.

"We're just getting into plant-gate sales," he says. "We've been selling regularly for a few weeks. This week we're also sending several teams to sell to striking workers at the Murph Metals plant here. So far the response has been very friendly."

Dallas has sold more than 190 *Militants* so far this week.

New York socialists began the target week by sending a special team to sell to steelworkers in Allentown, Pennsylvania. They will also be sending several teams to steel plants every day during the week.

Reports indicate that we're making good progress toward selling our goal of 10,000 *Militants* this week. In addition to the successful sales at plant gates and workplaces, socialists have been selling on street corners and at shopping centers in Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other working-class communities and on university and community-college campuses across the country.

* * *

The sales scoreboard below shows the sales of 5,723 for last week. The final results of the target-week sales will be in next week's scoreboard.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Pittsburgh	175	136	77.7	Albany, N.Y.	75	42	56.0
Toledo	75	87	116.0	Denver	200	152	76.0	Atlanta	400	222	55.5
Miami	75	82	109.3	Indianapolis	135	100	74.0	Cincinnati	125	69	55.2
St. Paul	80	85	106.2	Seattle	215	156	72.5	Newark	225	122	54.2
New Orleans	200	207	103.5	Washington, D.C., Area	400	286	71.5	Berkeley, Calif.	250	126	50.4
Phoenix	125	129	103.2	Boston	520	363	69.8	Detroit	625	303	48.4
San Antonio	125	126	100.8	Richmond, Va.	75	50	66.6	Portland, Ore.	200	91	45.5
San Diego	200	201	100.5	St. Louis	300	193	64.3	Baltimore	150	65	43.3
Tacoma, Wash.	70	65	92.8	Minneapolis	300	192	64.0	Milwaukee	200	80	40.0
Louisville	100	87	87.0	Houston	400	247	61.7	New York City	1,100	376	34.1
Salt Lake City	100	84	84.0	Philadelphia	400	242	60.5	Kansas City, Mo.	120	40	33.3
Dallas	140	117	83.5	San Jose	200	118	59.0	Chicago	650	180	27.6
Raleigh, N.C.	40	32	80.0	Cleveland	180	103	57.2	Total			
				Los Angeles	650	367	56.4	May 13 issue	10,000	5,723	57.2

More protests against Stanford's apartheid ties

By Tim Cullinane

PALO ALTO, Calif.—"Down with apartheid! Stanford must divest!" chanted a crowd of more than 900 at Stanford University May 10.

The rally marked the second day of demonstrations here demanding that Stanford's board of trustees vote against South African investments at a Ford Motor Company stockholders' meeting May 12. The university holds 93,350 shares of Ford stock.

The night before the rally, police arrested 294 students, staff, and alumni who had occupied a campus building. That sit-in had capped a rally of more than 600 organized May 9 by the Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policy (SCRIP).

Stanford's board of trustees rejected the protesters' demands, choosing instead to abstain on the motion at the stockholders' meeting. Peter Bing, president of the board of trustees, told the demonstrators, "It is our personal judgment that continued presence [of U.S. corporations in South Africa] will help."

The trustees announced they had written to the heads of seven corporations investing in South Africa asking them to take "all reasonable means to combat racial discrimination."

Demonstrators at the May 10 rally rejected the trustees' excuses. "We say that protesting apartheid can only be considered a crime in a racist society," declared Peter Necarsulmer of SCRIP. "... By arresting the protesters, the university was showing that it sided with the regime in South Africa and the United States corporations that profit from apartheid."

Sam Manuel, a founding leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers party in the recent Los Angeles election also



294 people protesting Stanford University's investments in South Africa were arrested May 9

spoke at the rally. "If it seems we are repeating ourselves by having continued demonstrations," Manuel said, "it is because the administration of this university and the rulers of this country are slow to recognize that human rights should come before profits. We will keep repeating ourselves and will grow larger and broader until we end all U.S. ties with South Africa and get U.S. corporations out of South Africa."

The Stanford protest has received messages of support from the Black Students Union; the Asian-American

group; student groups at San Jose State University, UC Davis, UC Berkeley, and Macalester College in Minnesota; the Commission on Social Justice of the Archdiocese of San Francisco; former antiwar activist Tom Hayden; Tony Austin, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism; United Farm Workers Union leader César Chávez; and a representative of Pan-Africanist Congress, a group active in South Africa.

Some 300 of the May 10 demonstrators again occupied a university building for five hours, but left minutes

before the building closed. The group chose not to be arrested so that they could continue educating people about South Africa. As one leader of the sit-in, Laura Carlson, put it, "We came out because we have work to do."

The students held a third rally May 12 to protest the defeat of the antiapartheid resolution at the Ford stockholders' meeting.

The Stanford Council of Presidents has called a meeting of California student government presidents to plan statewide actions May 26 against investments in South Africa.

Striking social service workers plan rally

NEW YORK—One thousand workers who provide a variety of social services for an estimated 100,000 people in New York City have been on strike since the end of April.

The workers belong to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 1707, Local 215.

The local bargains for social workers, child-care workers, kitchen and maintenance staff, and clerical employees of seven casework agencies—affiliates of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

At a tumultuous membership meeting April 27, workers refused management's proposal of wage increases varying from 3 to 5 percent. Union

members also reminded union officials of the original mandate from them to negotiate across-the-board salary increases to redress past inequities to lower-paid employees and for an improved wage offer for all.

Besides the offensive against Local 215, other District Council 1707 members are coming under attack: teachers at the Association for the Help of Retarded Children, who have been on strike since April 29; and groupwork agency employees, who have been locked out by the Associated YM and YWHAs of Greater New York.

A joint rally in support of striking D.C. 1707 members has been called for Friday, May 20, noon, at City Hall Park.

Socialist summer school focus: class-struggle union strategy

By George Kaplan

How can workers fight back against the attacks on their living standards now being carried out by the bosses and the bosses' government? How could the unions lead such a battle? What can workers do to free their unions from the grip of class-collaborationist bureaucrats such as I.W. Abel? Can the unions become a force in the struggle for socialism?

During the coming months, socialists will be seeking to educate themselves and others about these and other questions facing the American labor movement. Socialist summer schools, jointly sponsored by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, are being planned in cities across the country.

According to SWP National Education Director Fred Feldman, the summer schools will focus on a study of Farrell Dobbs's four books on the Teamsters union—*Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*. Dobbs was a central leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes and of the over-the-road organizing campaign that established the Teamsters as a powerful national union.

"These books tell the story of how socialists helped to organize and build a different kind of union in Minneapolis than you find in the country today," Feldman said. "A union that was completely independent of the employ-

ers and the government, completely democratic in its internal structure, and therefore able to bring its power to bear in defense of the workers' interests.

"I think this experience is very relevant today," Feldman explained, "because workers are beginning to feel the need for this kind of unionism to defend them in the face of inflation, unemployment, and cutbacks of social programs. The emergence of Steelworkers Fight Back indicates that workers are beginning to look for ways to get control of their own unions, to transform them into fighting instruments.

"That means winning them back from bureaucrats like Abel and his successor Lloyd McBride, who see the union movement as a way to earn big salaries for themselves and their cronies, and who feel more at home with the bosses or with Republican and Democratic politicians than they do with rank-and-file union members."

Feldman reported that the National Education Department is preparing an outline for an eight-class series on Dobbs's books.

He said that many branches of the SWP will also be holding classes on the basic ideas of socialism—the *Communist Manifesto*, Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* Trotsky's writings on Stalinism, and other important works—in addition to the classes on the labor movement.

Steel notes...

SEEKING UNITY AT REPUBLIC: Local negotiations at Republic Steel's home plant in Cleveland have in the past been used to divide the four basic steel locals there. The company has given concessions to one local to get an agreement signed, then dragged its feet on the demands of the other three.

This year the four locals have reached an agreement that none will sign until certain demands that each local views as strikable issues have been met. These demands include a restaurant, company-paid safety shoes, heat in certain parts of the plant, and liberalization of attendance policy.

Al Forney, president of Local 1157, has gotten a lot of the points that his local was negotiating for. The other three locals fear that 1157 will break the agreement and sign early. Ed Buxton, vice-president of Local 1098, says his local has gotten virtually nothing. Forney supported McBride for international president while Buxton and a number of other local leaders supported the Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

Republic employs more than 9,000 workers. Local activists believe a strike vote there is possible. The big question, they say, is whether it will be a united strike vote.

CHICO STALLS VOTE IN LOCAL 65: Back in April a meeting of Local 65, U.S. Steel South Works in South Chicago, voted to hold a membership referendum on local issues. The local's grievance committee



ALICE PEURALA

chairperson and international staff representative had signed an agreement even though 140 issues were not resolved to the satisfaction of the grievance committee. Local President John Chico opposed the referendum as "meaningless" and insisted the signed agreement was legally binding.

Grievance committeewoman Alice Peurala disagrees with Chico. "We think that the membership should have the opportunity to evaluate the way the issues were resolved and have the chance to express an opinion on them. They should have had that right before the agreements were signed," Peurala said. "Most of all, we want the precedent to be set that no one signs a local agreement without

the membership voting on it first."

Peurala contends, along with several other members of the grievance committee, that "a strong negative rejection of the present settlement of the issues would strengthen the union's hand in seeking a renegotiation of some of the resolved issues."

At the local's May 11 meeting, Peurala introduced a motion to set June 1 as the date for the referendum, to print the resolution of the 140 issues and distribute them at plant gates, and to select a number of election tellers. The motion was narrowly defeated by Chico's supporters.

The situation now is highly confused, since Chico maintains the May 11 vote may have "negated the previous vote" to hold the referendum at all.

TROUBLE BREWING AT SCHLITZ: Nearly 1,000 members of the United Steelworkers struck four can plants of the Schlitz Brewing Company on May 1. The plants are in Milwaukee; Los Angeles; Tampa, Florida; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The strike is primarily over economic issues.

Militant correspondent Bill Breihan in Milwaukee reports that Local 7996 at the Schlitz can plant there is "a real stronghold of Sadlowski support." The plant, with 260 workers, "went almost ten-to-one in favor of the Fight Back slate in the elections," Breihan writes.

Bob Laskowski, vice-president of Local 7996, told Breihan: "Put this in the *Militant* newspaper—we're a militant union. . . . We're very strong believers in the idea of 'no contract, no work.' The contract ran out on May 1. We went on strike May 1."

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH: Publicly, the steel companies and big-business press are blaming the latest steel price hike on extravagant wage gains in the basic steel contract. The May 2 *Financial Digest* issued by Manufacturers Hanover Trust—not intended for workers to read—tells a different story:

"As for wages, they are going up, of course, but not as fast as implied in the publicity given the recent steelworkers' settlement. The press played up the total package, which amounted to annual increases of about 10 per cent. However, this includes an allowance for a rise in the cost of living—and the increase implied might well be too pessimistic. Steel wage hikes alone will run less than 3½ per cent per year, or only slightly more than the increases than can be expected in productivity."

ALUMINUM BOSSES LIKE THE PATTERN: Another good sign of what the employers really think of the steel contract is the reaction of the aluminum companies, which face a May 31 bargaining deadline with the U.S.A. and the Aluminum Workers International Union.

The April 28 *Wall Street Journal* calls the steel pact "relatively modest compared with the contracts negotiated in other key industries over the past 18 months." It says that "the steel settlement hasn't proved particularly alarming to aluminum executives." Reynolds President George Walters says, "The steel settlement has taken the heat off. There's a feeling that a pattern has been set that will enable us to follow." The betting now is for an aluminum settlement as early as May 24.

IT FIGURES: The May 11 *New York Times* reported that the steel price increase would add \$32 to \$35 to the steel content of new car prices. The May 12 *New York Times* reported that new car prices will rise by \$300 to \$350.

—Andy Rose

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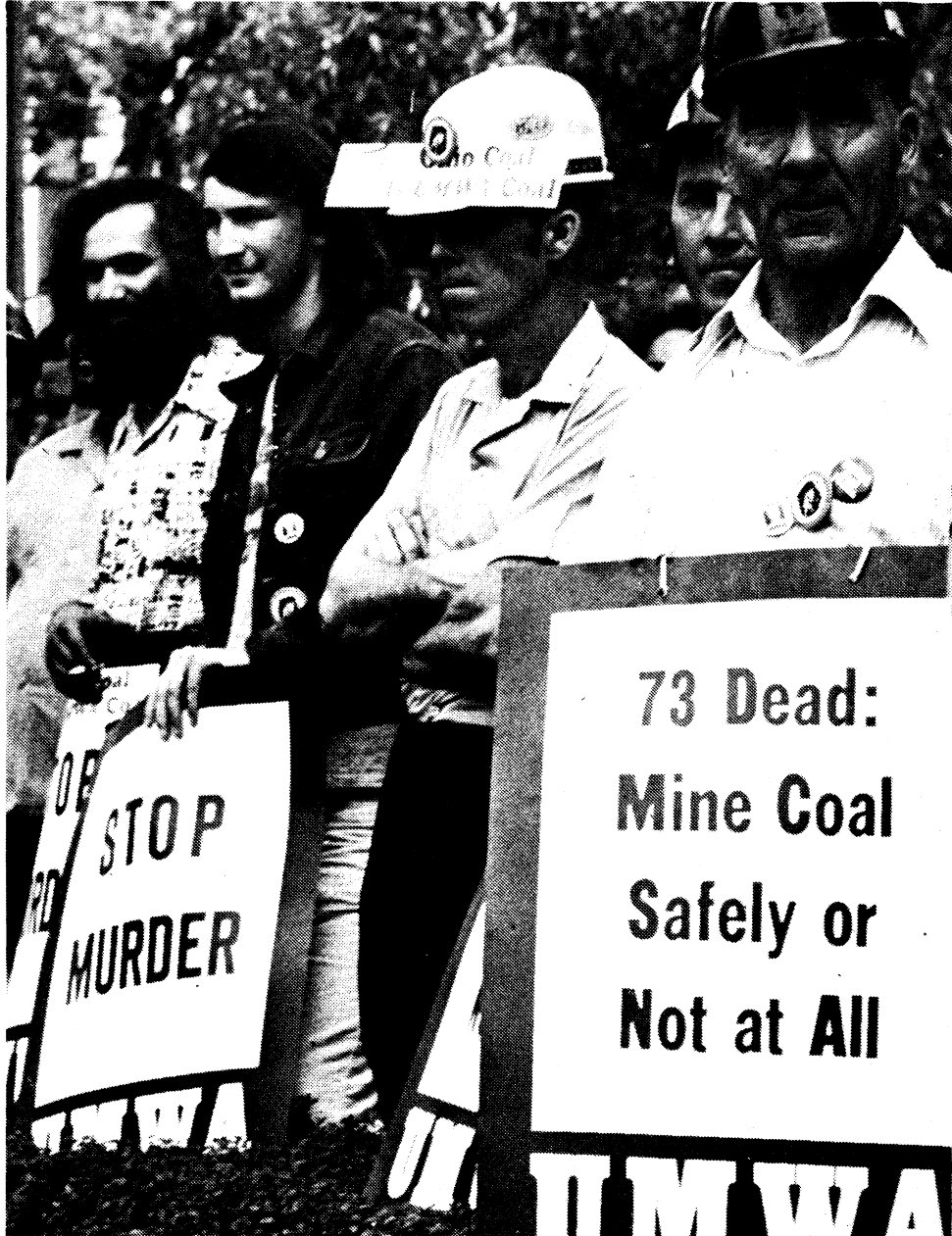
Teamster Bureaucracy
Farrell Dobbs

If you can't comply with our International orders, which are founded on necessity, AND ON ORDERS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT, then the best thing to do is to notify the International Union. Then we will protect ourselves. We know how!



Donald F. Tate

MINERS UNION UNDER ATTACK



By Ed Heisler

With the blessings of the Carter administration, coal companies have launched a massive offensive against the United Mine Workers of America. They are threatening to destroy national collective bargaining in the coal industry.

By repeatedly violating contract provisions, the employers (called coal operators) have provoked a series of wildcat strikes in the eastern coalfields.

In February, 30,000 miners took to picket lines.

In April and May, some 20,000 miners walked off the job.

Many of the company violations are literally life-and-death questions for coal miners. One West Virginia company has repeatedly provoked strikes by illegally removing union safety committee members from the mine.

The operators want a free hand to maximize production without "interference" from safety regulations. That's why 393 coal miners died on the job between the December 1973 and September 1976 UMW conventions.

Now President Carter demands vastly increased coal production as part of his energy plan—while he also seeks to eliminate allegedly "burdensome" re-

gulations on job safety and pollution. This is a formula for slaughter in the mines.

When miners strike in self-defense, the operators and big-business press rail against "anarchy" in the coalfields.

The president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, Joseph Brennan, has been asking in recent speeches, "What value is there to a contract when individuals with seeming impunity can violate it and in so doing can shut down large portions of the coal industry?"

Brennan and his fellow operators would like to see a return to the 1920s when negotiations took place on a company-by-company basis. Employers could play off sections of the union against one another, keep wages low, and ignore pleas for safer conditions.

When the coal operators signed the current three-year contract in 1974, they hoped to undermine contract provisions without facing wildcat strikes or demands that the contract be reopened. The companies expected the union leadership to ensure uninterrupted coal production.

An elaborate, time-consuming grievance machinery was established for this purpose. Grievances piled up. Those that were finally handled were

generally settled in favor of the employers. The whole system proved to be ineffectual in forcing the operators to live up to the contract.

Under the old Boyle regime in the United Mine Workers grievances were handled in a similar way without facing effective resistance by the workers. But big changes have occurred in the coalfields and in the union.

The union membership is younger, larger, and more militant than before. In 1964 the average age of coal miners was forty-eight. Today it is under thirty-four. In the past ten years the union membership has doubled from 90,000 to more than 180,000 working miners. This trend is continuing.

The union's internal life has also undergone a big transformation. For decades the UMW was a dictatorship run by President John L. Lewis and later by President Tony Boyle.

Miners for Democracy

In 1972 the Miners for Democracy reform movement defeated the Boyle machine in the election of international officers. Arnold Miller was elected president, Harry Patrick secretary-treasurer, and Mike Trbovich vice-president. Major democratic reforms were implemented.

Miners won the right to vote on their union contracts. Trusteeships that had been placed over seventeen of the union's twenty-one districts were lifted. Elections of local and district officers were held, in some districts for the first time in decades.

The pages of the *UMW Journal* magazine were opened up to the views of the rank and file for the first time.

Free debate and discussion took place at the UMW convention in 1973. No longer were militant or dissident delegates beaten by goons on the convention floor for daring to criticize the union leadership.

The old Lewis-Boyle constitution was dumped and a new one written that provided a greater measure of democracy within the union.

Sweetheart contracts and backdoor deals with the bosses ended.

Under these new conditions, coal miners have insisted that the coal operators comply with the contract. The coal owners refuse, treating it as a worthless scrap of paper. Miners grew angrier with each violation and more frustrated with the grievance procedure.

Many saw the grievance machinery as a handcuff on miners, permitting the mineowners to run roughshod over them. They began to take things into their own hands.

In the summers of 1975 and 1976 miners went on massive "unauthorized" strikes to protest company attacks on the contract, strike-breaking court injunctions, and government fines against their union.

In August 1975 a coal company fired the Black president of a union local. Members went on strike to protest the firing. The strike mushroomed until 80,000 miners were out.

The strikers ignored initial appeals by the top union leaders to return to work. After nearly a month the strike ended.

The *New York Times* in a September 1, 1975, editorial called on the new union officers to end the "brute force the current rebellion in the mines involves" and to discipline the "strike-happy young militants."

In what amounted to a directive to the union leadership the *Times* declared: "An overriding duty to restore normal operations rests on the United Mine Workers' leadership. . . . It is the essence of responsible unionism."

In July 1976 the Cedar Coal Company in West Virginia provoked a strike when coal miners tried to play by the rules set down in the contract. After following all the grievance steps their case was finally heard by an arbitrator. The company's violation was so clear that the arbitrator ruled in the miners' favor.

Cedar Coal simply ignored the ruling. Union members went to Feder-

al Court Judge Dennis Knapp asking for a court order forcing the company to implement the arbitrator's decision. Judge Knapp refused.

Having no other recourse, the miners went on strike. Now the courts rolled into action. A judge ordered the strikers back to work, fined the union, and threatened to jail 200 miners.

More than 100,000 miners walked out in a sympathy strike. They refused to buckle under to court injunctions, fines, and threats of jailings.

The strikers also refused to heed back-to-work orders by the international union. The strike did not end until a month later when the miners had forced the judges to drop all injunctions and fines against the union.

Right to strike

The miners' fighting spirit and determination to see that their contract is enforced was reflected at last year's union convention.

Delegates demanded that a right-to-strike clause be included in the next national contract. Such a clause would permit local unions—upon democratic vote of the members—to shut down the mines to force company compliance with the contract.

The operators are adamantly opposed to this demand. *Barron's*—a prominent big-business newspaper—explained in its March 28 issue that "endowing locals with the right to strike legally over complaints would destroy the industry's new grievance system . . . and prevent the industry from going to court for injunctions and filing damage suits against the wildcats."

The coal industry, *Barron's* said, "wants the courts to force the union to threaten district and local officers with suspension or expulsion and, if necessary, suspend local autonomy and order the membership back to work. . . ."

The coal operators fully expect to force a nationwide strike when the current contract expires December 5. They think that with the help of the government they can inflict a major defeat on the UMW.

Nationwide confrontation

In the event of a strike the operators, government, and press will wage a massive propaganda campaign to turn public opinion against the miners. They will be branded as greedy and unpatriotic. They will be charged with causing unemployment, and sabotaging Carter's energy plan.

New York Times labor expert A.H. Raskin wrote on April 27 that "White House officials are already pondering what action the Government might take to head off a stoppage."

But, he says, "no one in the White House has come up yet with any bright notion of how to inject Government into the maelstrom. Nor has anyone forgotten how often in World War II the miners under Mr. Lewis defied Presidential and Congressional back-to-work mandates."

If a strike occurs and the government orders the miners back to work they will discover that they have no "friends" in Congress. Carter and the other politicians will reveal themselves as bitter enemies of the miners and loyal servants of the coal companies.

If such a confrontation develops a miners' strike could become a cause for the entire labor movement. The miners could set an example for millions of union members on how to fight back in defense of their working conditions and living standards. That prospect worries the employers and their politicians.

The coal operators think they hold one more big advantage, though—the possibility of exploiting divisions and weaknesses in the UMW leadership.

The reform slate that was swept into office in 1972 is today deeply divided, and a bitter three-way race for union president is in progress. That election and what it means for the future of the union will be taken up in another article.

Anti-'alien' package ready

Carter OKs national ID card for workers

By José G. Pérez

The Carter administration has decided to go ahead with a national identification card for all workers seeking jobs.

The mandatory card is part of a planned crackdown on immigrants without work or residence permits, the people the government calls "illegal aliens." The centerpiece of the plan is a proposal to make it illegal to hire foreign workers without immigration papers.

Interviewed on the May 13 "McNeil-Lehrer Report," a news program broadcast over public TV stations, Commissioner of Immigration Leonel Castillo balked at calling the new ID requirement a national identity card. "What we're moving to is a Social Security card that would be more

secure," he explained.

Further news of the White House decision came in remarks by Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall before the forty-sixth meeting of the American Conference on Immigration and Citizenship, which took place in New York the same day.

According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Marshall was careful to distinguish between an employment card and a 'national identification card,' which he said he opposed."

For most practical purposes, the difference is beside the point. However, in one respect, Marshall is correct. There is a difference: A national ID card would be for everyone, but Carter proposes that *only working people be required to carry the new card.*

The ID card proposed by Marshall,

Castillo, and Carter will very likely be similar to those already being handed out to "legal" immigrants. These cards include rows of computer-coded numbers that unlock files in government data banks.

The idea is that by using these numbers, a cop or an employer is able to tell if the card is phony or the bearer an imposter.

But the numbers could just as well reveal whether the person is a political activist, union organizer, or member of an unpopular religion. The ID card system would be an ideal way of enforcing employer blacklists and other police-state abuses.

Justifying the proposal, Marshall expressed a phony concern that without ID cards the planned jobs ban against undocumented immigrants would increase hiring discrimination against all Latinos. Employers facing penalties for hiring undocumented workers, he said, might simply avoid hiring "anyone who speaks with a Spanish accent."

"I will acknowledge that identifying undocumented workers was the complex problem that we faced," Marshall said. "It is a thorny civil liberties issue with no easy answer."

Despite Marshall's protestations, there is an easy answer: simply scrap this whole assault on the rights of working people—whatever their country of origin.

The ID card scheme comes out of discussions on a package prepared by a cabinet committee and presented to Carter at the end of April. Last week the *Militant* reported that Carter had questioned the committee's initial proposal because it did not include mandatory ID cards.

Other items in the revised Carter package include an "amnesty" for immigrants "with an equity in the society." What this means remains to be seen. Some press reports say that the amnesty may be limited to those



SECRETARY OF LABOR MARSHALL: Discovers a difference between national identity card and work identity card.

who have been in the United States at least five years. This would exclude many, if not most, undocumented persons.

Another Carter proposal is to beef up the U.S. Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This would automatically mean more harassment of all Latinos and more deportations, which are already running at a rate of nearly 1 million each year.

The *New York Times* article on Marshall's speech noted, "The plan as outlined by Mr. Marshall appeared to balance the carrot against the stick—amnesty against stricter enforcement of immigration laws in the future."

Three days after Marshall and Castillo's comments, the *New York Times* editorially endorsed the whole package, including work identity cards. Earlier, the *Los Angeles Times* had supported the same package.

According to the *New York Times* editorial, the plan will be presented to Congress before the end of May.

NSCAR blasts deportations

Maura Rodríguez, a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, issued a statement May 9 condemning the proposed national identity card.

"This is a system extremely similar to the pass system used in South Africa," Rodríguez said, "and is a large-scale attack against the rights of all who live here."

Rodríguez said the student coalition "condemns the deportations of undocumented workers as racist."

"NSCAR feels that the deportations make criminals out of the victims—the undocumented workers," she added.

"It is in the interests of all Latinos, Caribbeans, Blacks, and all defenders of human rights to oppose deportations. The National Student Coalition Against Racism demands an end to deportations now!"



Militant/Rich Robohm
MAURA RODRIGUEZ

East L.A. Chicanos hit high insurance rates

By Chris Hildebrand

LOS ANGELES—East Los Angeles Chicanos have attended several recent public hearings in massive numbers to protest being victimized by discriminatory auto insurance rates.

On May 6 more than 2,000 angry residents packed the auditorium at East Los Angeles Community College for a hearing by a state senate subcommittee.

The demonstration was organized by the United Neighbors Organization (UNO), a coalition of twelve churches and parishes led by Rev. Luis Olivares of Our Lady of Solitude.

Almost all Chicano or *mexicano*, East Los Angeles residents are forced to pay car insurance rates twice as high as those paid by Anglos in neighboring communities. This racist

practice is particularly hard on working people, since the long distances in the area and lack of adequate public transportation make a car a necessity for most people to get to their job.

At the hearing, embittered residents poured out their experiences to the state senators. Not only is the premium double, but "extras" are added on. One person testified about people being charged \$100 extra "because they can't speak English."

"They were told," Al Anderson said, "that special people [Spanish-speaking] would have to be hired to take care of cases involving them."

This system of charging suburbanites less and poor inner-city people more is described by the insurance companies as a "territorial system" of

determining rates. The racist justification for this is that these poor areas have more crime, more accidents, and more uninsured motorists.

The big, angry turnouts at the East L.A. hearings on this have sparked an investigation of these insurance company "facts," and it is being established that the accident rate in the inner cities is actually *lower* than in many suburbs.

The UNO is demanding a state law scrapping the "territorial system" and having a uniform statewide rate instead.

Members of the senate subcommittee promised to get the insurance companies' response to these charges and to hold another session with the UNO within thirty days.

In the latest issue of 'Perspectiva Mundial'...

By José G. Pérez

Recent issues of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist news magazine produced every other week in the United States, feature articles that aren't available anywhere in English and are hard to find in Spanish.

The current issue, dated May 23, reprints an article from *La Verdad*, newspaper of Puerto Rico's International Workers League, that tells the story of five members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist party who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s.

The previous issue, dated May 9,

carries four articles on the struggle for immediate U.S. withdrawal from the Panama Canal, currently a North American colonial enclave in the heart of Central America.

Three of these articles are reprinted from *Revolución Socialista*, newspaper of the Socialist Bloc, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Colombia. The fourth piece was written especially for *PM* by Eugenia Aranda. None of the articles are available in English.

Of particular interest are the differing evaluations presented in these articles of the role of Gen. Omar Torrijos, Panama's military dictator.

Torrijos says he is trying to get the United States out of the Canal Zone through negotiations.

PM is continuing its coverage of issues of special interest to Spanish-speaking political activists in the United States.

The May 23 issue carries the full text of a legal deposition by Socialist Workers party National Secretary Jack Barnes. Barnes explains why revolutionary socialists oppose individual terrorism. The deposition is part of proceedings in the SWP's suit against government spying and harassment.

Other articles include reports on

Moscow's attempts to tighten its control over some European Communist parties; the Mexican government's maneuvers against a threatened strike by telephone workers; and President Carter's plans to impose a mandatory ID card on all U.S. workers as part of his crackdown on immigrants who come to the United States without permission.

Subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* are available from the magazine at: Post Office Box 314, Village Station, New York, New York 10014. A one-year subscription is \$10. Six months is \$5.

Chicano students blast Bakke decision

By Wayne Hieber

LOS ANGELES—Nearly 1,500 people, mainly Chicano college students, marched and rallied here May 7 in support of affirmative-action admis-

An analysis of what's at stake in the Bakke decision appears on pages 16 and 17.

sions programs for minorities and women in the state university system.

The marchers were protesting the notorious *Bakke* decision, a state supreme court ruling against these special programs. The ruling has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Demonstrators chanted, clapped, and sang as the march wound its way

from La Placita—the historic square of Old Los Angeles—to the Federal Building downtown, then back to La Placita for a rally.

Carrying hundreds of banners, signs, and flags, marchers chanted, "Raza sí, Bakke no!" and, "We want doctors, lawyers, too. Two percent just won't do."

Arturo Chávez, president of the MEChA at California State University at Los Angeles, chaired the rally. Speakers included Jaime Rodríguez of CASA, an antideportation group, Democratic State Rep. Art Torres; and a representative of the Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Committee. Several singers and cultural groups performed. Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the

United Farm Workers, captured the mood of the rally, saying, "One hundred years ago it was the worst crime to teach a slave to read and write. Today the descendants of those who kept education from the Black slaves seek to keep education from us."

"Education, organizing, and unity are the keys to our freedom," Huerta declared. "If poor farm workers can organize and beat growers, you can build a movement to defeat the *Bakke* decision!"

The march and rally were organized mainly through the statewide federation of MEChA chapters. The protest was built in conjunction with La Semana de la Raza (The Week of La Raza) and the celebration of the

Mexican national holiday, Cinco de Mayo.

The majority of marchers came from some fifteen colleges in the Los Angeles area. Contingents also carried banners from colleges in San Francisco, San Jose, Stanford, San Diego, Callexico, Santa Barbara, and other cities.

Banners and signs reflected the wide range of organizations that participated in the protest, including: CASA, the American Indian Movement, Skyhorse-Mohawk Defense Committee, United Farm Workers, Student Coalition Against Racism, Jacobo Rodríguez Defense Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Student Brigade, and others.

Getting the U.S. out of Africa



KHOTSO SEATLHOLO



TSIETSI MASHININI

Exiled South African students assess tour of United States

By Omari Musa

One of the most important developments in the African solidarity movement this spring was the nationwide speaking tour for exiled South African student leaders Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo. The tour was organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and cosponsored by the International Defense and Aid Fund.

Mashinini and Seatlholo were key leaders of last June's student demonstrations in Soweto, South Africa. During their U.S. tour they spoke to more than 15,000 people in forty cities. Many thousands more heard them on television and radio broadcasts, or read about them in newspapers.

'Great potential'

"From the thousands of people we spoke to," Mashinini told me before returning to London, "there is great potential in the U.S. to organize a movement to demand an end to American complicity with the South African government."

Seatlholo, who returned to Botswana after the tour, agreed. "Some of the people who came to our meetings were eager to take action to halt U.S. complicity," he said. "On the other hand, some did not know what the problem in South Africa was."

This was true even among Black students, Seatlholo told me. "But after we spoke," he added, "they saw the connection between the struggle in the

U.S. and the struggle in South Africa. They began to identify with our struggle."

"Among white students," said Mashinini, "there was a fear of the communist bogeyman. But after I would explain the situation in South Africa, they too were sympathetic."

NSCAR Coordinator Tony Austin said the tour was a significant contribution to the African solidarity movement. "It began the process of educating people on the role of the U.S. government and businesses in southern Africa," Austin said, "and awakening people to the brutality of the apartheid regime."

Austin compared the impact of the tour to the teach-ins, speak-outs, and other educational activities organized by anti-Vietnam War activists during the early period of U.S. involvement.

"Those educational activities," Austin said, "helped lay the groundwork for mobilizing the massive opposition that developed as Washington stepped up its intervention. That movement eventually forced Washington to pull out."

The tour was an important complement, Austin added, to the March 25-26 protests organized by SCAR chapters in dozens of cities this spring.

"Although the actions were modest in size," he said, "they were important examples of the type of action needed to halt U.S. intervention in Africa. They helped lay the basis for larger actions in the future."

Mashinini and Seatlholo repeatedly pointed to the lack of information among the American people on Washington's real role in southern Africa.

"People are being misled by [U.S. ambassador to the United Nations] Andrew Young and by the whole Carter government," Mashinini said. "This was so even among some people who were ready to take action demanding that the U.S. get out of southern Africa."

"Any leader working within the framework of the oppressing government can't be of any help to the oppressed masses. And Young is working for the Carter government."

From what he had gathered from reading newspapers and talking with Americans during his tour, Seatlholo told me, "The Carter government is not interested in the masses in the U.S."

"It is even less interested in the struggling masses in southern Africa," he said. "Carter's only aim is to exploit the masses here in the U.S. and the Black masses in southern Africa. Young is just another puppet being used by this government to pursue their profits."

Seatlholo was especially angry about Young's claim that U.S. corporations in South Africa are raising the standard of living of Black workers there.

"American corporations," he said "simply take advantage of the situation to better exploit the South African worker. Young says the corporations will raise the wages of Black workers to those of the white man. But that does not solve the problem of the Black masses."

"Our struggle in South Africa is not based on money—it is based on land. We believe that the country is ours."

Mashinini added, "The Carter government states that the corporations in South Africa can bring about economic pressure on the South African government to ease the racial friction. But we believe it's the other way around."

"The corporations must be pulled out. They only strengthen the racist South African government politically, economically, and militarily."

"It is only by educating the American people," Mashinini told me, "—letting them know what the issues are, how they are involved, and what they can do to help—that they will do something to get the U.S. out of southern Africa."

"When people know, it becomes easy to mobilize them—especially Blacks, where the interest is very high."

"So the movement here in America has to see to it that people are never without information nor misled. If that's done, then we'll see more picket lines, rallies, demonstrations, and boycotts."

'Need education campaign'

NSCAR is planning to do just that, Austin told me.

"Several activities are already scheduled," he said.

"On May 28—African Liberation Day—there will be many demonstrations and rallies. A number of SCAR chapters are helping to organize these, and we're urging others to get involved in them."

"Secondly, June 16 marks the first anniversary of the Soweto rebellion. SCAR chapters will be organizing teach-ins, speak-outs, pickets, and other protests that day."

"In addition, we're going to enlist support for the international appeal for June 16 actions issued by Mashinini, Seatlholo, and other exiled leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council."

Austin said that NSCAR is also taking steps to help draw the many organizations in the Africa solidarity movement together. "The broad range of activities last fall and this spring shows that some form of coordination is necessary. So NSCAR and other organizations and individuals have called a leadership meeting to discuss where the movement should go from here."

"Hopefully," Austin said, "we will all come out of the meeting better equipped to go forward to organize a large, united movement to get the United States out of Africa."

Join the fight against racism

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is building a movement to end U.S. complicity with racist regimes in southern Africa . . . to defend desegregation and busing in this country . . . to oppose the death penalty. Become a part of that movement!

Please send me:

☐ A copy of the brochure "What is NSCAR?"

☐ _____ copies of the *Student Mobilizer* (15¢ each)

☐ _____ buttons "Defend Black Rights" (35¢ each); _____ buttons "No to Racism from Boston to South Africa" (50¢ each)

☐ Information about renting the film *There Is No Crisis*, a documentary about racism in South Africa, or the slide show *The Battle of Boston*.

☐ I want to join NSCAR. Enclosed is \$1.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

National Student Coalition Against Racism

220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001
(212) 686-7020

Why the 'New York Times' hails NOW's new leadership

By Mary-Alice Waters
and Cindy Jaquith

The April national conference of the National Organization for Women did not pass unnoticed by the rulers of this country, who have the most to fear from a powerful women's liberation movement.

In previous articles the *Militant* has explained that the NOW leadership used this conference to try to consolidate a rightward turn.

Through the newspapers they own and control, the wealthy interests that run this country have drawn the same conclusions about what happened at the NOW conference. They not only recognized the shift, but applauded it.

The April 24 *Boston Globe*, for example, saw great significance in the election of Eleanor Smeal, a middle-class housewife, as the organization's new president. Her election "is at least in part an attempt to rid the organization of its past radical image and its identification with lesbianism, man-hating and revolutionary change, an image that has scared away the more conservative women," wrote the *Globe* at the Detroit conference.

'A quiet approach'

"... most women here seem to be looking for a legislative and legal approach to the problems," said the *Globe*, "and there is much discussion of



sending women to law schools and electing them to state legislatures." The newspaper counterposed this to what it called an "activist" approach, and commented, "The mainstream here seems to be looking for a quiet approach."

What was so encouraging to the *Globe* about this "quiet approach" was that the conference took place in the context of very *unquiet* moves by the Carter administration to erode the gains of the past ten years of struggles by women.

NOW entered its tenth national conference in the midst of broadside attacks on legal abortion, child care, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other rights. Working-class women, particularly Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans, have so far been the prime victims of this assault.

One section of the NOW membership, characterized by the *Globe* as the "activists," argued at the conference for an aggressive counteroffensive by women against these attacks.

The NOW leadership, on the other hand, was bent on steering the conference *away* from discussion of the recent setbacks suffered by the movement, and away from an action program to defend women's rights.

Instead of telling women to rely on their own powerful forces, the leadership counterposed deepening NOW's orientation to electing "pro-women" Democrats and Republicans, lobbying politicians, and other legislative activities.

This course of increased dependence on the very politicians carrying out the attacks was disguised as a step forward for NOW. It was said that NOW was moving "from a pressure group on the outside to a power group on the inside."

What actually lay behind this perspective was portrayed more honestly in a May 3 *New York Times* editorial.

The editorial began by noting that ten years ago, "feminist claims were jarring, even enraging." Yet, the editors conceded, feminists won important victories and radically altered society's views of women.

Since that time, the editorial continued, "the movement has broadened and deepened—and so has the opposition."

This brought the *Times* to its main point: "The women's movement is learning, as the civil rights movement did before it, that beyond the heady early victories lies the hard-scrabble of institutional

reality. . . . it appears that NOW is prepared to lead the movement down the harder roads ahead."

The comparison with the evolution of the civil rights movement is a warning of exactly what "harder roads ahead" the ruling class has in mind for women.

The civil rights movement of the early 1960s won historic victories when a new generation of Black militants bypassed the traditional, more conservative Black organizations and mobilized hundreds of thousands in support of civil rights.

But after the initial gains were won, the ruling class decided it would be wiser to try to contain the Black masses by using the carrot more than the stick. A few carpeted offices, modest salaries, and titles denoting respect were enough to convince a layer of Black leaders to adopt a more "practical" approach. Using promises of what Black Democrats in office could accomplish by "working within the system"—or as the *Times* would say, engaging in "the hard-scrabble of institutional reality"—these leaders were able to channel much of the militancy of the Black movement out of the streets and into the electoral shell-game of the two-party system.

Today, the American Black communities, reeling under the impact of the economic crisis, are still paying for this bankrupt strategy.

The *Times* editors make it quite clear that they would like to see the same crippling process take place in the women's movement. And they place utmost confidence in the new NOW leadership to lead this process.

'Turn' to housewives

An important feature of the political changes going on in NOW, universally noted by the capitalist media, was the leadership's supposed turn toward housewives. "The change is best symbolized by the fact that NOW's new president, Eleanor C. Smeal, bills herself as a housewife, a description any good feminist would have disdained seven years ago," the *Times* editorial noted.

"A suburban housewife and mother, [Smeal] has never held a paying job in her adult life," wrote the *Globe* on May 8.

The declared orientation toward housewives was an ironic twist for an organization that had spent much of its early years campaigning to break down the sex and economic barriers that trap women within the confines of the home. What was the real content of this demagogic new stance, welcomed by the *Times* as a symbol of the changes needed in the women's movement?

It was certainly not a concern for the real problems faced by the overwhelming majority of housewives—those who don't have the option of deciding to forgo a paying job for their entire adult life. The demagoguery about housewives was actually a cover for a turn *away* from the most pressing problems faced by the majority of the female population, women who work a double job, inside and outside the home.

The women's movement has always paid attention to the specific problems all women face as a result of their traditional responsibilities in the home. But these problems are not the same for all housewives, because housewives are not all from one social class—they come from different classes and the degree of oppression they feel is based on



Militant/Nancy Cole
'New York Times' says change in women's movement is best symbolized by NOW's new president, Eleanor Smeal.



Militant/Barry Chann
Like this meatcutter, many housewives must hold paying jobs outside the home.

their economic situation.

A Black working mother, the sole supporter of her family, is obviously affected in a far more profound way by cutbacks in child care, unequal pay, and lack of maternity benefits than a white woman whose husband's income gives her the option of choosing not to take a paying job.

Both are housewives. Both are oppressed as women. But the problems faced by one of them are compounded by the fact that she is also exploited on the job and oppressed as a Black, in addition to being a woman.

By the end of the national conference, the NOW leadership had left little doubt about who they have in mind when they talk about housewives. By stifling discussion on proposals for action in defense of the most pressing needs of women—demands that would do the most to lessen the burden carried by most housewives—the leadership made clear that its orientation is to those white women who enjoy relative economic privileges.

Forced sterilization example

This came through around such issues as forced sterilization. The NOW leadership took the position that the sterilization abuse affecting Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites is on the same plane as the problems confronting some women who cannot find doctors willing to perform voluntary sterilization. Arguing that you cannot trade off the rights of one class for another, they opposed much-needed legislation that would impose some curbs on the practice of forced sterilization.

But the minimal sterilization guidelines enacted in some cities in no way prevent women desiring voluntary sterilization from having such an operation. By opposing such guidelines, on the other hand, the NOW leadership *was* counterposing the rights of one class of women to another's.

Taking the correct approach on such questions is critical for the women's movement today, as the government steps up its efforts to further divide women along race and class lines. The government's recent attacks have thrown into sharp relief the reality that women's oppression is totally intertwined with the racial and economic exploitation of class society.

This question will be the focus of this *Militant* series on the women's movement today and the challenges it faces.

To understand what direction the movement must go in, we first have to step back and see where the movement came from. What social forces led to the explosion of women's liberation sentiment ten years ago? How was this explosion linked to the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and other expressions of the American class struggle in the 1960s? Why was the new feminist movement a threat to the stability of capitalist rule?

These questions will be the subject of our next article.

Seabrook protesters released without bail

By Chris Horner

BOSTON—New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson agreed to a compromise May 13 that allowed 700 antinuclear protesters held in state armories to be released without bail. In all, 1,414 demonstrators were imprisoned May 1 after occupying the site of a planned nuclear reactor at Seabrook. Some 700 had been released earlier.

The deal allowed release of the remaining detainees on their own recognizance after mass trials for trespassing.

Thomson's initial hard-line policy of refusing to release protesters on their own recognizance had come under wide attack—not only from the prisoners and their supporters, but from angry New Hampshire citizens upset at the \$50,000 daily cost of jailing the demonstrators.

Rockingham County commissioners, for instance, refused to pay the costs of the jailings.

The commissioners also said they might pay any fines imposed on the prisoners instead of having the fines worked off at five dollars a day. Paying the fines would cost the taxpayers less.

The Boston affiliate of the antinuclear Clamshell Alliance, which sponsored the Seabrook protest, celebrated the release with a spirited rally of 400 people in downtown Boston May 15. The featured speaker was the well-known ecologist and author Barry Commoner.

Also speaking was Diane Jacobs, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston city council.

Still pending is a suit against the state of New Hampshire charging that the jail conditions to which the protesters were subjected were unconstitutional. The suit cites overcrowding, poor bedding, lack of heat, bad food, lack of medical facilities, and "dangerously inadequate" sanitary facilities.

Hysterectomies: operations for profit

By Gale Shangold

Hysterectomies have now surpassed tonsilectomies as the most common operation performed in the United States.

Two medical professors told a House commerce subcommittee in Washington, D.C., May 9 that thousands of hysterectomies—operations to remove the womb—are done unnecessarily and for a profit.

Dr. Kenneth Ryan of Harvard University said the number of hysterectomies has risen by a "staggering" 25 percent between 1970 and 1975.

In 1975, 725,000 hysterectomies were performed—3.47 for every 100,000 women. This is compared with 685,000 tonsilectomies and 319,000 appendectomies.

Hysterectomy is major surgery and, as with all major surgery, complications are not unusual. According to data presented to the subcommittee, as many as 4,600 American women may be dying each year as a result of the operation.

In the Washington, D.C., area the total cost of a hysterectomy is between \$850 and \$1,500.

Medicaid, Medicare, and other health plans for both the poor and affluent will reimburse a surgeon up to 90 percent for the cost of any sterilization procedure, and sometimes nothing for abortion.

The hysterectomy rate is higher among patients of surgeons who collect individual fees than among patients of salaried surgeons in prepaid health plans. And the rate is double for insured persons.

The director of a large New York municipal hospital told the *Los Angeles Times* a couple of years ago that it is "unwritten policy" in the so-called charity wards to do hysterectomies for sterilization, instead of the safer and cheaper tubal ligation.

The main victims of these criminal policies are Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and other working-class women.

A Baltimore specialist summed up the contempt that much of the medical profession has for women when he told the *Times*, "Some of us aren't making a living, so out comes a uterus or two each month to pay the rent."

Dr. James Sammons, speaking for the American Medical Association before the House subcommittee, defended hysterectomies for sterilization "where a woman has acute pregnophobia, where she is acutely fearful of being pregnant and no other method will reassure her."

He likewise defended hysterectomies to prevent any chance of cancer, if a woman's fear of cancer upsets her emotionally or mentally. He neglected to mention that considerably more women die from hysterectomies each year than from uterine cancer.

Jobs take a back seat at London summit talks



By Dick Roberts

The economic summit meeting in London last week got glowing write-ups.

The political leaders of the major capitalist nations "pledged . . . to put their personal and political strength behind an effort to create more jobs, to decrease inflation and to encourage international trade free of protectionist tendencies," *Washington Post* reporter Hobart Rowen wrote from London May 8.

Le Monde, the prestigious Paris daily, compared President Carter to John F. Kennedy. And *L'Unità*, the newspaper of the Italian Communist party, declared that Carter showed a willingness for "real consultation among partners" and "an awareness of the end of American hegemony."

In a brief article written from London May 9, however, two reporters for the *Wall Street Journal* explained what was really agreed on—and it is a different story.

The summit, said Richard Janssen and Richard Levine, "strengthened the developed world's willingness to persist in the struggle against inflation."

"Despite public emphasis on spurring economic growth to reduce unemployment, the leaders . . . agreed to stick with their current moderate economic policies."

They "studiously avoided putting any pressure on each other to raise their 1977 economic-growth targets."

Thus, what actually prevailed at the London meeting was the strategy of the Carter administration.

Before his inauguration Carter promised job programs, tax rebates, and other measures to spur the economy. Since taking office the Democratic administration has reneged on these promises. It has not proposed any new spending by the government except for military purposes. Carter canceled the tax rebates and now is calling for increased Social Security taxes.

This is because the rulers of this country want to maintain unemployment at the highest levels they can get away with. Increased unemployment dampens the wage demands of all workers and increases the profit margins of U.S. monopoly.

Carter was under some pressure in Europe to stimulate the American economy through increased federal expenditures. Britain and Italy have adopted antilabor "austerity" programs to shore up their economies. In Italy and France the prolonged crisis of capitalism has put considerable wind in the sails of the Socialist and Communist parties.

The leaders of these countries hope that a stimulated U.S. economy will provide a market for their exported goods and thus help their economies to thrive.

Flora Lewis, the *New York Times* European expert, alluded to these problems when she wrote from London, "The lack of jobs and the frustrations of recession have alerted all these politicians to the menace a loss of prosperity would be to existing political systems. That is why they put such special emphasis on the unemployment of youth, which they feel threatens to create a whole new generation tending toward restless discontent and perhaps ultimately toward angry irresponsibility."

These are polite words for the radicalization of young people that is certain to grow as European capitalism proves increasingly unable to provide

jobs and a growing standard of living.

Ironically, as the London meeting was taking place, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that some of the top capitalist rulers of France, including Baron Guy de Rothschild, were in New York "sounding out the possibility of new U.S. investments. Though none said so publicly, several indicated they would like to get more of their francs into U.S.-based assets before their country's general election next March" with the possibility of a Communist party victory.

In London, Carter turned a deaf ear. "Even in the face of the acute political anxieties in Europe over stubbornly high unemployment," *Wall Street Journal* reporters Janssen and Levine wrote, "[U.S. Secretary of the Treasury] Blumenthal reported a consensus 'that to bring the rate of unemployment down at the cost of higher inflation wasn't acceptable and was a policy that would very quickly be a self-defeating one.'"

The *Wall Street Journal* reporters also noted the opinion of a European diplomat that "Carter didn't hide the fact that his main preoccupation is inflation."

The rulers of this country have no intention of making any sacrifices to pull the European economies up—if they can help it. They are aware that in the long run spiraling protectionism and the refusal of the more wealthy countries to bail out the poorer ones with loans could lead right back to 1974-75 or even worse.

But they want to postpone that day as long as possible. Right now, with a new Democratic administration that has the union leadership in its hip pocket, U.S. imperialism looks forward to improving its profit margins at the expense of competitors abroad and workers at home.

Why Wall St. likes Carter

While Jimmy Carter was in Europe, trying to grin his way into people's confidence there, he picked up a new supporter on Wall Street. This is Pierre Rinfret, a former economic adviser to Richard Nixon and outspoken applier of the capitalist system.

Says Rinfret, "More and more, Carter impresses me as a conservative Democrat, a conservative Southern Democrat, or even possibly a liberal Republican."

Noting the differences between Carter's campaign promises and what the White House is actually doing, Rinfret says, "One of the most notable facts of the administration to date is that there hasn't been a single new spending proposal by the president."

"He hasn't moved to spend all the money that was budgeted. He has found welfare too complicated for immediate action and he has pressed for more defense money, rather than less. . . ."

"The administration is working to restore the confidence of industry in the future of the U.S.," Rinfret says.

—D. R.

New energy hoax

"WORLD WARNED: OIL RUNNING OUT"

"WORLD OIL SHORTAGE IS CALLED INEVITABLE"

Screaming scare headlines hit the newsstands again with the May 16 release of a new international energy study. It was directed by Carroll Wilson, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Oil shortages will cripple the "free world" as early as 1981, Wilson warned. He predicted "catastrophe" if the report's recommendations are not heeded "with wartime urgency." What is recommended?

- Curtail energy use drastically.
- Increase U.S. coal production 300 to 400 percent.
- Move full speed ahead to build more nuclear reactors.

The report assumed a huge increase in energy prices, and warned that even so, "the margin between success and failure in the 1985-2000 period is slim."

All commentators immediately noted that the report echoed the Carter administration's calls for "the moral equivalent of war" on energy use. Indeed, the MIT study drew almost exactly the same conclusions as the CIA report that Carter released earlier to bolster his demands for sacrifice and higher energy prices . . . the same CIA report that was soon exposed as a fraud.

As the *Wall Street Journal* explained, quoting a government official, "Ex-CIA chief Schlesinger got together with some of his old buddies and put out this thing as a PR effort."

The new study, however, is presented with an aura of scientific respectability. An Associated Press dispatch called it the work of "an international investigative team."

One prominent figure in the "investigative team" was Thornton Bradshaw. He knows a lot about oil because he's president of the Atlantic Richfield Company, the eighth largest U.S. oil company. In fact, as the *New York Times* noted May 17, virtually the whole crew came from "big corporations and universities and governments."

The *Times* reported: "Asked why he had not included among the 35 principals some figures who might have been expected to dissent from the general direction of the report, Mr. Wilson said he had formed 'a group who could work together intensively' and share 'a global perspective.'"

It also turns out that MIT was merely the front for laundering funds for the "study." The real financial backers included Allied Chemical Corporation (the company that brought you the Kepone poisoning scandal, and which is a partner in a \$250 million plutonium processing plant), Atlantic Richfield, General Motors, and the Ford, Rockefeller, Mellon, and Sloan foundations.

These top capitalist firms do share "a global perspective"—a perspective that goes even beyond the billions in profits the energy corporations will reap from Carter's plan. That perspective is to use the energy scare to intensify the massive austerity drive against the living standards of workers.

But the Carter administration and the capitalists it serves have a problem—the deepgoing skepticism of American workers about this scare and their resistance to sacrificing for the profits of the energy giants. In one recent poll, only half of those surveyed believed what Carter says about the seriousness of the "energy crisis" and a majority opposed his plans for higher prices and taxes.

That's why the CIA report was concocted.

That's why the MIT report was concocted.

All these fraudulent studies are based on statistics the energy companies provide. That's why they "prove" just what the energy companies want to prove. A different story would emerge if working people forced open the books, records, and studies of the corporations. Then we would find out the real story of their profit-gouging plans, rigged statistics, concealed reserves, and hidden stockpiles.

When the energy trust and its bought-off scientists cry, "Shortage!", the response of labor should be, "Open the books!"



'Time I became involved'

I have been reading the *Militant* for a little over a year now and I think it's time I became involved. Would you please send me any material pertaining to the Socialist Workers party? I would also appreciate a copy of the Equal Rights Amendment and the Bill of Rights for Working People. A prisoner
New York

Communist party & gay rights

It was deeply distressing to learn that the Socialist Workers party endorsed a Communist party candidate in a local campaign in Los Angeles.

Although unity among leftist and liberation groups is important, the Communist party USA is a reactionary organization. Besides its continued attempts to describe the Soviet Union as a workers' paradise, when it is in fact a totalitarian police state, the CP has consistently refused to come to the defense of feminist causes, such as the Equal Rights Amendment.

Furthermore, it has blatantly clung to the outdated idea that homosexuality is a result of bourgeois decadence that will disappear with the fall of capitalism.

To even suggest such a notion only contributes to the oppression of one of the world's largest minorities—homosexuals.

There can be no revolution without gay revolution. Until all leftists and libertarians recognize this fact, struggles for liberation and revolution will be fragmented and not representative of the people.

Endorsing candidates who support the oppression of women and gays is a disgraceful act, which could only be justified if the particular candidates articulated their disapproval of their party's position on these questions.

There must be unity, but unity under circumstances which propel the liberation of everyone. The oppression of women and gays is not a petty issue that should be put aside in the name of unity. Instead, it should serve as a cause that all of us can unite behind in our attempt to eradicate all forms of injustice and subservience.

Walter Streng
New York, New York

Thanks from a prisoner

May I first congratulate you for the wonderful work you are doing. Your newspaper is more than help to me. It has given me a better understanding of what's happening in the outside world. I would like to thank you and all the people who have made it possible for me and other inmates to receive the *Militant*. And I wish you many more years of success.

A prisoner
Nebraska

Lolita Lebrón

I recently wrote to U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo concerning Lolita Lebrón.

I visited her on April 9 at the Alderson Correctional Facility, together with Dr. Helen Rodríguez and another friend. We brought her a package of Puerto Rican products. I have visited with her before and was able to bring her such products. I also know of gifts she received last December without any problem. We mailed the package from the Alderson post office.

I recently received a letter from Lolita telling me that she was shown

the contents of the package and the warden ordered it returned to the sender. Lolita is very much upset by this action, not only because she was happy to get some Puerto Rican food, but also because she doesn't eat in the prison cafeteria. She has her own cooking facilities.

To me this is another form of harassment. Recently she suffered when another woman inmate dashed into her room and attacked her physically. The prison authorities did nothing to punish this woman or to prevent a similar incident from happening.

I asked Badillo, as a representative of Puerto Ricans in Congress, to investigate this harassment of Lolita Lebrón and to do everything in his power to see that she receives my package.

Genoveva Clemente
Brooklyn, New York

Schools and measles

This past year Los Angeles has recorded 2,000 cases of measles, resulting in two deaths. Public health officials have used drastic measures to assure that Los Angeles children get the immunization shots that are required by law. But the school board refuses to set up a program giving these shots in schools. Instead, each individual parent is responsible and must go to a private doctor or clinic.

How can such a wealthy city as Los Angeles allow such epidemics? Beginning in the early 1960s, immunization shots for measles were introduced in other cities of this country, administered in the schools. Classroom after classroom was lined up to get these necessary shots.

Not so in Los Angeles. The school board, the health department, and the state have refused to institute preventive medical immunization for schoolchildren. They are afraid to compete with private doctors. That would be a small taste of "socialized medicine." Perish the thought!

Simply giving immunization shots on a regular basis at school might have saved two lives. Instead, we have a school system that prefers to send hundreds of thousands of parents notices to find their own way to get the shots. Is it any wonder why most children don't get them?

Each school board member has a chauffeured limousine. But the board claims there are no funds for an immunization program.

Two children's deaths are two too many.

Virginia Garza
Los Angeles, California

Forum violence

On April 15, a forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance at San Jose State University was marred by the violence of a group claiming to represent the Iranian Students Association-US (ISA-US). Ironically, the forum was on the topic "Human Rights." Speakers included a representative of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

Before the forum began, the ISA-US group came to the door and loudly declared its intention to "expose" the CAIFI speaker as an agent of the shah. Forum organizers allowed a speaker from the group fifteen minutes to present the group's views. The speech consisted almost entirely of unsubstantiated charges that Dr. Reza Baraheni, a famous Iranian poet and former political prisoner, is an agent of

Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



'Brave-hearted women'

The following is a guest column by Gale Shangold.

Four years ago the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota was the site of a battle between Indian militants and the government. Three hundred Indians, most of whom are Oglala Sioux, occupied Wounded Knee for seventy-one days in protest of the intolerable conditions of the reservation.

Pine Ridge women have been active in the fight for Native American rights for a long time. And they played an important role during the Wounded Knee occupation. These experiences helped contribute to the recent formation of a women's organization at Pine Ridge called Cante Ohitika Win (brave-hearted women).

"We want to give women a voice so they won't be left out. It seems like there's nothing for our children to look forward to. We have to change that," explained Geraldine Janis and Verona Kills Right, founders of the organization.

Cante Ohitika Win's first major project is putting out a book by and about reservation women. The book will be a compilation of interviews done with Lakota (Sioux) women.

In a pamphlet explaining the project Janis says, "We want to do something constructive, something to benefit the people, instead of just worrying about tribal politics. Our older people are going fast. We need to leave something behind for our children. With the old people, we'll lose all the history and understanding of the old ways and our cultural background."

Among the grave problems of concern to Cante Ohitika Win are:

- White ranchers and farmers own or lease 90 percent of the farmland and 75 percent of the ranch land.
- The drop-out rate in Indian schools is 60 percent.
- Unemployment ranges between 35 and 60 percent.
- One hospital serves the entire reservation and is more than 100 miles from the easternmost community.

During the Wounded Knee occupation, Regina Brave expressed the feelings of many Native American women when she posted this notice on the wall: "We're tired of seeing our men driven by despair, turn to alcohol, commit suicide, or end up in penal institutions!"

"We've reared children only to see them brain-washed by an alien system with a genocidal policy which destroys our language, customs, heritage. . . .

"After 483 years, we're tired. So we're standing up next to our men. We're standing up and taking up the battle here and now to protect our young so their unborn can know the freedom our grandparents knew. The future of our young and unborn is buried in our past.

"We are today who will bring the rebirth of spiritualism, dignity and sovereignty. *We are Native American Women!*"

On a limited basis, a speakers bureau can provide speakers for interested organizations. There is no funding for the book yet. So all donations of money or equipment are welcome. They should be sent to: Cante Ohitika Win, Post Office Box 474, Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770.

SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

After the meeting, the group that claimed to be from ISA-US was waiting and followed the CAIFI representative, shouting names and trying to attack him. He was spat upon and punched in the head.

Reaction has strongly opposed the violence. Philip Paull, who represented Amnesty International at the forum, said, "Objectively, the activities of the ISA . . . coincided *precisely* with the long-known aims of the SAVAK, i.e., to stifle and repress all criticism of the shah's regime."

Glenda Horton
San Jose, California

Handicapped

I wish to thank the *Militant* for the article on the disabled in the April 22 issue. I am legally blind with only a little remaining sight.

Our struggle for equality is just as hard as the struggles to remove racist and sexist barriers. It doesn't matter why you are being discriminated against—it feels the same. It is demeaning.

The capitalist government oppresses us through economics, just like they do to women, Blacks, and other Third World people.

I hope socialists will join with us to help win our right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Linda Gwizdak
Brookline, Massachusetts

Ukrainian self-determination

As members of the United Auto Workers of Ukrainian descent or immigrants from the politically suppressed nation of the Ukraine in the Soviet Union, we call on the UAW's Twenty-fifth Constitutional Convention to adopt the resolutions on human rights and self-determination for people of all nations throughout the world that have been submitted by many locals.

As we oppose the political suppression of the Ukrainian nation and its people, we fully recognize the need for unity with people of all nations in opposing political suppression of individual beliefs, restriction of travel, political imprisonment, and political domination of entire nations.

As members of the UAW we must clearly state to the world that organized labor fully supports the right of self-determination for all people.

We ask the president of our country, President Carter, who has supported the right of self-determination, and the president of our union, Brother Woodcock, who has opposed suppression of individual liberties, to call upon the United Nations and all world organizations to demand amnesty for all political prisoners in all nations and the right of self-determination for people of all countries.

Ken Wizinsky, Chairperson
Design Staff Unit—UAW Local 160
Warren, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Meany, Debs & civil rights

Every year Social Democrats USA invoke the name of Eugene V. Debs in their persistent effort to destroy the Debs tradition of class-struggle unionism. They hand out an annual "Debs Award" to some labor skate who represents everything in the union movement that Debs despised and fought. Last year United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel received the Debs Award. This year it was AFL-CIO President George Meany.

The outstanding contribution this year toward the defamation of Debs was what Meany had to say about civil rights. In the freedom marches of the 1960s Meany avoided any real support of the civil rights movement as represented by Martin Luther King. He was viciously hostile to the struggle for Black liberation as represented by Malcolm X. But this shameful past did not deter him from reading prepared statements on the "distinct problems" of Black people.

"As late as 1893, Debs's own union, the American Railway Union, had a constitutional provision restricting membership to 'white only,'" says Meany the historian.

"Debs himself tended to the view that Black workers had no special or distinct problems that needed to be specifically addressed. All the problems of Black Americans, he thought, would be solved as part of the class struggle of the working class as a whole against the bosses."

This is presented to make Meany appear more "advanced" than Debs.

"We've come a long way from this view," says Meany. ". . . we have recognized that Black Americans do have special problems, the result of their unique history in America, and that their problems must be addressed directly. And we have learned that it's not enough to tear down the racial barriers—in unions or anywhere else. We need to provide training and education and other forms of assistance to insure that equality of opportunity is not a hollow phrase."

These hollow phrases can be fully appreciated only by young Blacks who have been conned along and eventually rejected by some of the many government-funded manpower and training projects under the joint sponsorship of unions and industry.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy is adamantly opposed to

hiring-quotas for Blacks and other minorities, to affirmative-action programs, and to any system of promotion and advancement for minorities and women that disturbs in any way the seniority system established under discriminatory hiring practices.

What does this have to do with Debs, who in his lifetime was an uncompromising fighter for the rights of Black people, who always identified with the poor and downtrodden of all races? Nothing whatsoever.

It is true that Debs did not understand the nationalist bonds and aspirations of Blacks, which at that time were only starting to be articulated in the Black community itself, then suffering the terrible repression that followed the Reconstruction period.

The special role of Black people—as a people—resulting from the pervasive racism of white American society was not explained prior to World War I. That was a weakness of the prewar socialist movement, and Debs shared that weakness.

It remained for the Russian Bolsheviks—especially Lenin and Trotsky—to educate the world socialist movement, and American socialists in particular, on the decisive part that oppressed nationalities will play in the transformation of society.

The most important and revealing of what Debs had to say on this question is available for all to read in the collection of his speeches and writings, *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, edited by Jean Tussey and published by Pathfinder Press. Here is an example from 1903:

"Let the capitalist press and capitalist 'public opinion' indulge themselves in alternate flattery and abuse of the Negro; we as Socialists will receive him in our party, treat him in our counsels and stand by him all around the same as if his skin were white instead of black; and this we do, not from any considerations of sentiment, but because it accords with the philosophy of socialism, the genius of the class struggle, and is eternally right and bound to triumph in the end."

That was the position of Debs on the special problems of Blacks in racist America almost seventy-five years ago. It does not reveal much understanding of the double exploitation of Blacks—which Debs was aware of—but it supports Black people against racist oppression. And that is better than what George Meany and Social Democrats USA are doing today.



Safe, economical . . .—The Florida Power and Light Co. will have to shut down its two nuclear power plants for two years to repair leaks. The repair bill will run about \$380 million—more than the original cost of the plants. At least four other plants around the country have sprung leaks. The companies say no radiation is emitted by the leaks.

Where are they now dep't—Rennie Davis, onetime superconfrontationist, was last in the news when he embraced the Guru Maharaj Ji's Di-

vine Light. Still into the religion, Rennie has changed his field of activity. He's now an insurance broker.

Guzzlers, Inc.—U.S. military planes, ships, and tanks consume a quarter of a billion barrels of oil annually. But the Pentagon says it won't be able to cut back because it has to be prepared for war.

Dining tip—The Palace in New York may sound expensive at sixty-five dollars for dinner. But that includes coffee.

Builds up their resistance—The Des Moines *Register & Tribune* estimates that nearly half the hamburger supplied children in the federal school lunch program may be contaminated. Much of the meat comes from Packerland Packing Co., which, the paper asserts, has a long history of "sanitary deficiencies."

An American idealist—Steve Kar-men is a top TV jingle writer with such lucrative hits as the Hershey bar and

Salem cigarette tunes. But he won't do detergents, hemorrhoid medicines, or politicians. "I want to be able to lie in bed at night and see something on the screen I'm proud of," he declared.

Perish the thought—John D. MacArthur, reportedly one of our richest citizens, complains, "It's no fun being rich anymore. People are too damn jealous and suspicious of you. They figure that anybody that's made as much money as I allegedly have musta' cheated somebody."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Germany: fast breeder slowed

Under growing political pressure, West Germany's Social Democratic government has decided to temporarily slow down its breeder atomic reactor program. The breeder reactor produces more plutonium than it uses. As such, it is a favored method of obtaining nuclear fuel in countries that don't have ready access to uranium.

But plutonium also makes the breeder reactor a particularly dangerous source of nuclear power. The artificial fuel remains radioactive for 250,000 years. A piece the size of a speck of dust will cause lung cancer.

Plutonium wastes have already contaminated water supplies in the United States. Broomfield, Colorado, a suburb of Denver, adjoins the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. Broomfield's reservoir is lined with plutonium from the plant.

In addition, plutonium is an essential component of atomic weapons. There is a constant danger that a nation could produce or buy enough to make a bomb—which is a relatively simple task.

The West German decision is of special significance because of the rapidly growing movement against energy there. An antinuclear demonstration in the town of Brokdorf last February drew some 50,000 people.

In fact, the debate has become so intense that

some left-wing legislators in the ruling Social Democratic party threatened to break party discipline and vote against the entire federal budget if it contained funds for the breeder.

This handful of defections could have brought down the government.

The breeder project hasn't been canceled. The government just wants to wait a bit and convince the skeptics that plutonium is really safe. It remains committed to making West Germany a leading nuclear power.

* * *

Dioxin is one of the deadliest poisons, fatal in lab animals in concentrations as low as a few hundred parts per *trillion* (ppt). It is present as a "manufacturing impurity" in the widely used herbicide 2,4,5-T.

A 1969 government study showed that 2,4,5-T caused birth defects in mice. Dioxin was the cause.

Last July an explosion in an Italian chemical plant scattered somewhere between twenty and a hundred pounds of dioxin over the surrounding countryside and villages. Disaster resulted.

Hundreds of farm animals died immediately. Villages were evacuated. Pregnant women were

allowed legal abortions (over the Vatican's objections).

In 1971 the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced it would hold hearings on banning 2,4,5-T. The hearings still haven't been held.

2,4,5-T is routinely sprayed over huge acreages, including national forests. Cattle from nearby pastures have as much as sixty-nine ppt in fatty tissue.

Last month, researchers at Harvard found dioxin in human mothers' milk, in concentrations up to 1.6 ppt. In the milk fat, dioxin levels reached 40 ppt. All the tested women lived around places where 2,4,5-T was sprayed.

Although the amounts seem small, there is some evidence that dioxin accumulates in the human body.

Under its military name of Agent Orange, 100 million pounds of 2,4,5-T were sprayed over Vietnam. The resulting birth defects and devastation of farmlands can only be guessed at.

Protests forced the United States to stop dropping Agent Orange on the Vietnamese, so there's a lot left over. The Air Force wants to haul it all into the Pacific and burn it. Neighboring wild life will be watched closely for ill effects, reports the EPA.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Salvador Agron

Salvador Agrón was born and raised in the slums of Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. He always had trouble with the law, and at an age when most people are in junior high school, Agrón was enrolling in a juvenile "correctional" institution.

Agrón escaped, came to the United States, and became head of the Vampires, a youth gang.

In August 1959 the Vampires heard that a white gang had been attacking Puerto Ricans at a park in Hell's Kitchen, an aptly named neighborhood on Manhattan's West Side. The Vampires retaliated, and Agrón knifed two young whites.

The news media used the incident to whip up a racist hysteria against Puerto Ricans. Police Commissioner Stephen Kennedy assigned 1,400 cops to patrol the area and another 100 detectives to investigate the case. They rounded up 150 Puerto Rican teen-agers, gave them the third degree, and soon arrested Agrón and several others.

After the first arrests, a mob of several hundred people gathered outside the Sixteenth Precinct police headquarters. "Assassins!" the people shouted. "Lynch them!"

The newspapers were full of stories about "Cape-man," "Machine gun Sal," and "Dracula"—nicknames they said Agrón used.

Agrón confessed to the crime and was sentenced to death. "I don't care about that," Agrón said. "I don't care if they kill me in the electric chair, even if my mother watches me die." He was sixteen years old.

Two years later, Agrón's death sentence was commuted. He used his years in prison productively: first he learned to read and write; then he earned a high school diploma; then completed two years of college.

He also developed political consciousness. He edited a prisoners' newspaper, protested abuses against inmates, and taught classes on Puerto Rican history and culture to other inmates.

With the support of community groups, Agrón sought clemency and received it at the end of 1976. He could be paroled in a year, and in the meantime he would enroll in an educational release program at the Fishkill Correctional Facility.

It might sound like the epitome of "rehabilitation" through an "enlightened" prison policy. Except that on April 15, Agrón failed to return to the prison after his classes.

In statements he sent to several newspapers, Agrón explained, "My absconding is not to escape

Catarino Garza



or to go without ever returning; my absconding is a protest which most of the inmates at the facility support. . . ."

Agrón charged that he wasn't allowed to pursue his education: "Everything is done to make an inmate go criminal again. And whatever values of a positive nature one may pick up at work or in the factory and in the college, are attacked by constant harassment and petty write ups."

It was the contradiction between attending college during the day—where he was treated as a human being—and returning to prison at night—where he was constantly harassed and degraded—that drove Agrón to abscond.

Shortly after "escaping," Agrón called the superintendent of the prison and offered to return if given amnesty. The superintendent refused.

Two weeks later, Agrón walked into an Arizona police station. He says he will appeal to Gov. Raúl Castro to block extradition.

Agrón's story is horrifying enough as the tale of one individual buffeted by racism and oppression. But the only thing unique about Agrón is that he was particularly articulate and that his case attracted the attention of the newspapers. There are hundreds of others like him rotting away in prisons.

Ariz. profs launch Starsky fund appeal

By Diane Wang

Nine faculty members at Arizona State University in Tempe have issued a fund appeal to help Prof. Morris Starsky get back his job at that school.

Starsky, a member of the Socialist Workers party, taught philosophy at ASU for six years. He was targeted by an FBI Cointelpro operation in 1970 and fired by ASU that year.

Since then, Starsky has waged a legal battle to get back his job. Two federal courts have already ruled that ASU violated Starsky's constitutional rights when it fired him because of his political beliefs and activities.

The court of appeal found "overwhelming evidence of [Starsky's] abilities and dedication as a teacher and a scholar." The court decision described Starsky as "a member of the faculty, an acknowledged and respected teacher and scholar, and a man with national visibility."

But the court of appeals sent the case back to U.S. district court on a technicality. Another trial was required to decide whether Starsky had given up the right to his job when he accepted a sabbatical from ASU in 1970.

After a hearing last December 13, the court ordered both ASU and Starsky to submit written arguments.

Attorney Margaret Winter recently replaced Alan Kyman of Phoenix as the attorney for Starsky. Winter has been working with the Political Rights Defense Fund on the SWP lawsuit against government harassment.

Winter explained, "ASU fired Starsky for exercising his First Amendment right to free speech. Then the board of regents tried to shield itself from liability with a phony claim that Starsky waived his right to sue the school. We have to win this case so that college admini-



Minnesota Daily/Phil Hernandez
MORRIS STARSKY

strations won't be able to use such tactics in the future."

The appeal for defense funds for Starsky's case was signed by Willard Pedrick and William Canby, Jr., professors at ASU's law school; Douglas Arner, former chairperson of the ASU philosophy department; George Peek, former dean of the college of liberal arts; William English, president of ASU's faculty assembly; William Podlich of the elementary education department; Susanne Shafer of the English department; Thornton Price of the ASU engineering school; and Thomas Ford Hoult of the sociology department. Hoult has written a book about the Starsky case, *The March to the Right: A Case Study in Political Repression*.

Contributions for the Starsky case can be sent to the Legal Defense Fund, 413 East Loyola Drive, Tempe, Arizona 85282.

Cleve. anticutback leaders endorse socialist with fight-back program

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—"Alyson said she's behind us. Well, we're behind her!" said Ron Carson, president of the student government at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland and a leader of the fight there against education cutbacks.

Carson was speaking at the April 30 rally kicking off Alyson Kennedy's Socialist Workers party campaign for mayor here.

Chris Holly-Black, another leader of the anticutbacks fight, said that if "capitalism means that we can't have a free lunch, then we need to take another look at the capitalist system."

Holly-Black has been in the forefront of the struggle to defend the child-care system at Cuyahoga Community College. The Early Childhood Learning Center (ECLC) is an innovative, inexpensive, parent-controlled child-care center. Student mothers with young children won the ECLC after a long struggle three years ago.

Now CCC plans to replace it with a

student-paid baby-sitting service. The new "service" will no longer be staffed by trained personnel. It will cost \$157 per child each quarter—twice the cost of tuition.

Other massive cutbacks have been proposed in library services, course offerings, tutoring, lab equipment, and faculty hiring at the predominantly Black college.

In response, the student government organized a campus rally of more than 300 people April 21 and formed the No Cutbacks Coalition.

At the Socialist Workers campaign kickoff, candidate Alyson Kennedy related the cutbacks at CCC to the nationwide attack on working people.

"In less than one week," Kennedy pointed out, "Carter scrapped his promised fifty-dollar tax rebate, set machinery in motion to police wages, and proposed an energy program that will send gasoline, electricity, and heat prices soaring."

Cutbacks in education have been accompanied in Cleveland by an

attack on school desegregation. Kennedy applauded the local NAACP for its role in documenting the long record of segregationist policies by the Cleveland school board.

Kennedy pledged her campaign to defending desegregation. "The only way to really win school desegregation is to mobilize publicly, in the tradition of the civil rights movement of the 1960s," she said.

To defend segregation and fight the cutbacks, Kennedy concluded, working people need their own political party based on the power of a fighting, revitalized trade-union movement. Such a party, she said, would be "a party for desegregation, for full employment, and for opening the books of the energy trusts to show their billions in profits."

Several people at the rally signed up to help petition to get Kennedy on the ballot and to campaign at steel-plant gates and neighborhoods where Kennedy's supporters will be taking the socialist alternative.

Is our view yours too?

By Dan Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Ellie Garcia, a longtime United Farm Workers activist, recently joined the Socialist Workers party here.

Garcia, twenty-four years old, was born and raised in Phoenix. Her grandparents came to Arizona from Mexico. She has been active in politics since she was a senior in high school.

I asked Garcia why she joined the SWP. "I have been active in movements for social change for seven years," she answered.

"The SWP offered me a broad understanding of politics and the interrelationship between different struggles. Having that kind of theoretic-



cal background makes it easier to be effective in particular struggles."

In 1970, while still in high school, Garcia was a member of the Mexican-American Political Association and worked for Raúl Castro, Democratic candidate for governor of Arizona. Castro lost, and Garcia turned her energies to supporting the UFW organizing drive and boycotts.

When Castro ran for governor again in 1974, Garcia became disillusioned with the Democratic party. "The Democrats' platform was so watered down," she recalled, "that there was nothing left to support."

The *Militant* also helped convince Garcia to join the SWP. She described what reading the *Militant* means to her: "Growing up in Phoenix, all I ever heard was the right-wing viewpoint. The *Militant* is the opposite of that. Its viewpoint is similar to mine."

If the *Militant's* viewpoint is yours and you would like to join the SWP, contact the SWP branch nearest you, listed on page 31, or write to the SWP national office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

La. groups protest bill to curb ballot

By Laurie Burke

NEW ORLEANS—The Louisiana House Government Affairs Committee has approved and sent to the legislature House Bill No. 179. If passed, the bill will greatly increase the number of signatures necessary to nominate candidates for public offices in this state.

Candidates for governor or U.S. president, for example, will have to gather 10,000 instead of 1,000 nominating signatures. In addition, at least 1,000 signatures will have to be collected from each of the state's congressional districts.

The state claims it must stiffen requirements for ballot status because the last ballot was almost too long for the voting machines. But many groups in Louisiana have rejected that excuse as a sham.

The Louisiana American Civil Liberties Union is spearheading the protest against House Bill No. 179. The ACLU

gathered letters opposing the bill from community and political organizations and individuals. The protest statements were released to the press April 27 and were delivered to the state capitol in Baton Rouge.

Marlene Roeder, executive director of the Louisiana ACLU, labeled the bill an attempt to "restrict the opportunity for small parties and independent candidates to appear on the ballot in Louisiana."

Joel Aber, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New Orleans, called the proposed requirements "blatantly undemocratic and unconstitutional."

"By further increasing the signature requirements," Aber wrote, "Governor [Edwin] Edwards and the legislators are saying there are only two parties in this state—the Democrats and the Republicans."

Aber pointed out that the ballot

restrictions will victimize not only socialist candidates, but "the rights of all minority political parties or candidates that may arise out of the labor unions or the Black community."

"Passing this flagrantly undemocratic proposal is just another attempt by the government to stifle the growing discontent of the American people, in view of the failing economy and the gross corruption of elected officials," Aber charged.

Letters protesting House Bill No. 179 also came from the New Orleans Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Louisiana chapter of the Southern Organizing Committee for Social and Economic Justice; Louisiana Women's Political Caucus; Communist party; Louisiana Committee on Jails and Prisons; Joseph Logsdon, professor at the University of New Orleans; Rev. William Barnwell; and Mid City Area Council, Inc.

Judge won't extend busing to E. Boston, but rips racist school board obstruction

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—Boston's public schools entered phase three of court-ordered desegregation May 6 with a new order from Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity. Phase one was implemented in 1974; phase two the following fall.

Garrity criticized the Boston School Committee for its refusal to "implement and sustain desegregated education in Boston."

The judge failed, however, to order desegregation of East Boston schools, although phase three had originally been projected to do so. Garrity cited the "geographical uniqueness" of East Boston as the reason for his decision. East Boston is accessible to the rest of Boston only through one tunnel.

Instead, East Boston High School will offer 200 students a business education program that must be half Black and Latino in composition. This will leave the school 92 percent white.

Garrity said he wants to get the court out of administering the schools. At the same time, however, he noted the school committee's "lack of commitment to desegregation and consequent foot dragging and obstruction."

His order establishes a new department of implementation. The department will assign students to schools in accord with the desegregation order and will control student transfers.

The present antibusing school

committee, however, will appoint the department's staff.

Garrity's two court-appointed experts on the case admitted this loophole when they released the new plan to the press. They indicated, however, that Garrity would watch the appointments closely and have the final say on them.

Garrity's order also extends the desegregation order to the kindergarten level for the first time, although on a voluntary basis. Some kindergarteners may be bused to school under the new plan.

Phase three won praise from Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, diehard antibusing member of the school committee and an East Boston resident.

"I'm pleased the court accepted the school committee proposal on making East Boston a magnet school," she said, "and I'm quite hopeful that all East Boston students will still be able to attend East Boston High School and not have to be bused into Boston."

Virginia Sheehy from the segregationist South Boston Information Center said, "I think [Garrity] has backed off. I thought he was going to do what he said when he started, desegregate the whole system."

Nonetheless, the antibusing school committee has voted to appeal Garrity's phase three order. Committee President Kathleen Sullivan said, "In short, the federal court will be running

practically all the operations of the school department." She called Garrity's "three-year rule" of the school system "an unmitigated fiasco."

School Supt. Marion Fahey agreed, saying that Garrity "has been a virtual czar."

Neither Black community leaders nor plaintiffs in the original desegregation suit have publicly commented on phase three.

Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate for school committee, commented, "The court admits that East Boston is segregated, but proposes a plan that will limit Black and Latino access to about 100 students and will leave East Boston an antibusing stronghold. If the court wants to get out of running the schools by 1978, it must begin by solving the problem of the school committee's and the city administration's obstructions that constantly resegregate the schools."

"What is needed is 100 percent desegregation."

Another dissent was registered by Lee Valenti, representative from East Boston on the Citywide Parents Advisory Council. (CPAC is the court-recognized parents' advisory council on desegregation.)

While Valenti doesn't completely support desegregation by busing, she does support the right of Blacks to attend the schools of their choice.

"East Boston continues to be an exception to the rule," she said, "and is exempted from desegregation orders supposedly because of the tunnel."

She also noted that the court did nothing about cutbacks. "You can't discuss desegregation and quality education," she added, "without discussing class size and the cutbacks in the teaching staff."

Under phase three segregated education still remains untouched in important parts of this city. Racist forces can use their remaining strongholds to threaten school desegregation throughout Boston.

Klan to run for city council

BOSTON—David Duke, Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, was "visiting close friends in South Boston" last week, but he took time out to announce on WNAC-TV's "Good Morning Show" that the Klan plans to "field several candidates for city council and possibly mayor." Duke said the KKK is "doing well in Boston," and that throughout New England it is "experiencing the fastest growth in our history."

—L.A.

Boston Black h.s. students protest attacks

By Maceo Dixon

ROXBURY, Mass.—May 9, 1977. It snowed today in Boston. Maybe that's why the ten school buses going to South Boston High School from here were empty.

But no. At Columbia Point, the pickup spot for the buses, all 250 Black students refused to board.

Some went home. Others got into cars and vans and drove to the African Heritage Institute in Roxbury. There the students held a news conference publicizing their grievance.

They boycotted classes today to

Since this article was written, new violence provoked by antibusing whites hit South Boston High School. On May 12 a stick of dynamite was found near the front steps. Fighting broke out, and police arrested seven people, mostly adults from South Boston.

More fighting broke out the next day. On Monday, May 16, 400 white parents rallied at the school against busing.

Next week's Militant will carry a full report.

petition Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity about the situation in "Southie" High.

"The purpose of the event is to let Judge Garrity know that Black parents and students are concerned with the safety and education of Black students at the school," said Mary Yeaton of the Boston Public Education Program.

The Black youths explained that tensions and hostilities in the school make getting an education difficult.

The petition to Garrity read: "Since 1974, when the court-ordered desegregation plan at South Boston High School began, we, the Black and Spanish students, urged that South Boston High be closed and moved to a neutral site.



South Boston mob stones cops last year. Racist violence has reached into schools, intimidating Black students and parents.

"In 1976 a new administration was brought in. . . . South Boston High School was placed in federal receivership. Black and Spanish students hoped that this was the answer to the harassments, discrimination, and the psychological barriers at the school.

"We have tried out the new administration and we have found that our issues are still the same but our problems have increased.

"The educational process at South Boston High School has not met the needs of Black and Spanish students. We find it impossible to learn in an atmosphere filled with fear. In the classrooms we live in fear, in the corridors we walk in fear, and in the lunch cafeterias we eat in fear.

"Our parents cannot visit the school to investigate conditions without fear. Meetings of the Racial and Ethnic Parents Council cannot be attended by Black and Spanish parents because they are held at South Boston High

School and our parents cannot safely enter the community."

The students demanded that Judge Garrity leave the school in federal receivership—administered directly by the judge—and move it to a neutral site.

Later in the day, Garrity turned down a request from the Boston School Committee to lift the receivership on South Boston High, although he made it clear that he doesn't want it to go on indefinitely.

But before receivership can end, Garrity said, the school committee must stop its foot dragging on desegregation.

I interviewed two Black women boycotters from South Boston High. Both were confident and militant. (I won't use their names, to spare them from possible racist abuse.)

I asked one of the young women why she felt Garrity should keep the school in receivership. "If he lifted it, it would be worse. There would be no guarantee

of safety," she answered.

The other student added, "When the whites go to school, they say 'nigger this' and 'nigger that.' They say other nasty words. I can't deal with that anymore. I dealt with it for a long time, but not anymore.

"The teachers harass you too," she went on. "Some of the teachers are prejudiced. If you don't do the work they won't pass you. But even if you do the work they still won't pass you."

The two also explained that most people don't know what's going on inside the school because there's been little publicity about it recently.

One of the women explained that the school administration would "put on an act when Judge Garrity visits the school. You think the school is all quiet. It's just that the press is prohibited from coming into the school. You don't hear it in the news anymore."

The absence of a mass, probusing movement in Boston has left Black and Puerto Rican students isolated in hostile territory. In the past Black students have said they had a right to stay in "Southie." And they were willing to fight to stay. However, without visible support from the Black community—which in 1974 and 1975 forced the federal, state, and local governments to provide at least minimal protection for them—the Black students now feel helpless.

"Parents can't come up to the school when we are suspended," the two students told me. "Some of the white aides will get smart with you. They want to suspend you, knowing that your parents are scared to come up there to the school."

When I asked one of the women where she thought a neutral site for South Boston High School would be, she replied, "Nowhere in South Boston."

The Black student boycott shows that the fight to desegregate Boston's schools and to ensure Blacks the right to walk the city's streets—including in South Boston—is far from over.

Judge likens NYC school to South of '30s

By Piccola Reid

QUEENS, N.Y.—“Schools in the city of New York seem to be approaching a pattern that a southerner would recognize forty years ago as being familiar to him,” remarked Brooklyn Federal Judge John Dooling on May 9.

The comment came during the third week of hearings on a suit demanding desegregation of Andrew Jackson High School in Queens. The school is currently 99 percent Black and Hispanic. Reversal of an earlier desegregation order sparked the NAACP and parents to initiate the suit.

State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist issued the first order in 1975. He told the New York City Board of Education to come up with a plan to make the school reflect the borough's racial composition.

The board responded by presenting Nyquist with a demographic study purporting to show that transferring 1,500 white students into Andrew

Jackson High and 1,500 Black students out would “tip the balance”—that is, make all Queens high schools predominantly nonwhite.

Pressure against Nyquist's order came from Rosedale's ROAR, a local offshoot of Boston's major antibusing outfit. Queens Borough President Donald Manes, City Councilperson Matthew Troy, and other politicians jumped on the racist bandwagon by publicly denouncing the order.

Finally in May 1976 Nyquist scuttled his decision. Rezoning to desegregate Andrew Jackson would “adversely affect racial integration in other high schools in the borough which presently are integrated,” Nyquist claimed.

The Jackson High School Parents Association called rallies to protest this retreat. Last fall the NAACP filed suit on behalf of these parents.

Last month the state education commission and city board of education asked that the case be dismissed.

Rejecting the motion, Judge Dooling called Andrew Jackson an example of “segregation in its most pitiful form.”

In 1956 the school was 86 percent

white. Today, of the 3,000 students enrolled, only 4 are white. The quality of education offered declined with the

Continued on page 30

NAACP suits challenge 'dual system of education'

Currently the NAACP is involved in two additional suits against segregation in New York City.

One suit charges the board of education with employing an “institutional method to perpetuate a dual system of education” by routinely sending Black and Hispanic “problem” students to special schools for the “socially maladjusted.” Of the 2,700 students enrolled in these fifteen special schools, 2,550 are Black or Hispanic.

The suit also charges that these

schools do not provide special education, while white “problem” students receive special help in regular schools.

The other suit charges the District 24 local school board in Queens and Chancellor Irving Anker with racial discrimination for creating so-called “separate but equal schools in elementary and intermediate schools.” For example, the board transferred Black students out of the district to avoid desegregating District 24 schools.

—P.R.

Wilmington Ten: 'We proved our case'

By Arnold Weissberg

The Wilmington Ten rested their case for a new trial on Friday, May 13. The hearing is taking place in Burgaw, North Carolina, twenty-five miles from Wilmington.

“We proved our case,” said chief defense attorney James Ferguson.

The ten—Rev. Ben Chavis, eight other young Black men, and white social worker Anne Shepard—were convicted in 1972 of fire bombing a white-owned grocery store in Wilmington.

The ten civil rights activists received sentences totaling 282 years. Shepard, who got 10 years, has been paroled.

The first two days of the hearing heard three key prosecution witnesses at the original trial say they had lied because of threats, promises, and bribes from prosecutor Jay Stroud.

Prosecution witness Allen Hall, who served a jail term for the fire bombing,

said he had been offered a shorter sentence if he would implicate Chavis.

Other witnesses at the hearing said Hall told them as early as 1973 that he had lied at the trial.

Hall also said he had been offered \$40,000 to leave the state after his release. He said he was threatened about what might happen to him if he stayed and talked.

Equally important was the testimony of Rev. Eugene Templeton and his wife, Donna.

Both testified that they were watching television with Chavis at the time of the bombing. “I'm absolutely certain [Chavis] was there,” said Reverend Templeton.

He described the tense scene in his church on the night of February 6, 1971, as white night-riders fired into the parsonage.

He added that Chavis had continually sought to discourage countervio-

lence by Blacks.

The Templetons fled the state and didn't testify at the original trial because they feared they might be arrested for conspiracy. The prosecution had charged the ten with organizing the bombing from Reverend Templeton's church.

The first state witness Monday, May 16, was former prosecutor Jay Stroud. Stroud produced a tape recording of a conversation with Allen Hall, which he claimed had been made the previous Thursday. Stroud said that Hall had phoned him twice to admit that his testimony at the hearing was false.

On the tape, Hall was heard to say “Right” to Stroud's assertion that his testimony had been a lie, and that his testimony at the original trial had been true.

He was also heard to answer “uh-huh” to a question from Stroud about getting a threat from the National

Wilmington Ten Defense Committee in Washington, D.C.

Imani Kazana of the National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee told the *Militant* that she had a number of questions about Stroud's tape.

For one thing, Kazana said, she wanted to know how Hall knew where to reach Stroud, who was staying at a motel. She suggested that Stroud might have told Hall where to reach him.

Kazana said that she had spoken to Hall on Friday. Hall had said that Stroud had phoned him Thursday night.

Also, Kazana noted, the idea that she could have threatened Hall was ridiculous. “What could I threaten him with?” she asked.

Although the tape was illegally made, without either a court order or Hall's permission, Judge George Fountain admitted it as evidence.

Chicago pickets protest dismissal of Panther suit



Militant/John Erickson

Seventy-five people picketed and rallied at the Chicago federal building May 6 to protest the decision by Federal Judge Sam Perry to dismiss the \$47.7 million damage suit by the families of murdered Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Speakers at the rally included representatives of the Cairo, Illinois, United Front; United Auto Workers Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee; and Student Coalition Against Racism.

Concorde gets OK to land in New York

By Arnold Weissberg

A federal judge has ordered New York's Port Authority, which operates Kennedy International Airport, to allow the supersonic Concorde jet to land there.

Judge Milton Pollack ruled May 11 that Transportation Secretary William Coleman's February 1976 order allowing the Concorde into Kennedy takes precedence over the Port Authority's ban, regardless of the plane's serious noise and air pollution problems.

The jet—the world's noisiest—has been granted a sixteen-month test at Dulles Airport in Washington, D.C.

New York-area opponents of the Concorde reacted quickly with a “drive-in” at Kennedy on Sunday evening, May 15. Some 750 cars drove slowly around airport roads, clogging them, forcing travelers to leave their vehicles and hike to the airline terminals.

Anti-Concorde activists have promised to keep the pressure on until the plane is banned permanently.

The campaign against the plane has been so powerful that virtually no New York politician—from Gov. Hugh Carey on down—will publicly support it.

Behind the scenes, though, there may be an entirely different story.

The *New York Times* reported May 10 on the \$4 million lobbying cam-

paign aimed at bringing the Concorde to New York.

“Some of the nation's most influential law firms and public relations concerns—staffed by well-connected former Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officials, an ex-Senator, former Congressional aides and close friends of powerful politicians—are involved in the effort,” wrote *Times* reporter Michael Jensen.

Jensen mentioned Charles Goodell, a former U.S. senator from New York; a former deputy mayor of New York City; and the law firms of former Secretary of State William Rogers and former head of the Environmental Protection Agency William Ruckelshaus.

These high-paid hucksters, of course, have an inside track with New York's Democratic and Republican politicians.

Air France and British Airways, operators of the Concorde, have announced that flights will begin June 20.

The Port Authority says it will appeal Pollack's verdict. But the final decision on the Concorde won't be made in the courtroom. The \$3 billion noisemaker will have to be stopped by making clear to the politicians and judges that a majority of New York's working people don't want it.

THE BAKKE CASE: EQUAL RIGHTS IN DANGER

California court ruling could pave way for new attacks on education and job gains.

By John Hawkins

Health care has long been a critical problem confronting working people in this country—especially Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. Medical care is expensive—a fact to which every working-class family can testify.

But for minority families, the problem is compounded by an acute shortage of medical personnel.

According to the National Urban League report on *The State of Black America 1977*, issued earlier this year, there is one physician for every 700 people in the United States as a whole. In Black communities, however, the ratio is one to 3,000.

Yet in 1976, for the first time in six years, the number of minority students entering medical school decreased. In the 1974-75 school year minority students made up 7.5 percent of entering classes. In 1975-76 the percentage of minority students dropped to 6.8.

The Urban League's findings were confirmed recently by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation in a report based on a three-year study of minorities in the medical professions. According to the Macy report, in some regions—Georgia, for example—the ratio of Black doctors to the Black population is as high as one to 8,903.

It is within the context of this crisis of minority medical personnel that the liberal California State Supreme Court last September struck down a minority admissions program at the University of California Davis Medical School.

The California court ruling—known as the *Bakke* decision—found the University of California Board of Regents guilty of “reverse discrimination” for operating the minority admissions program.

The decision came in response to a suit filed by Allan Bakke, a white medical school applicant. Bakke had been refused admission to the Davis medical school in 1973. The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the *Bakke* decision next October.

But the *Bakke* decision is not only a threat to minority health care in this country. It is a threat to all attempts to achieve equal access to education and higher-paying jobs.

Already some university officials in California have begun gutting minority admissions programs at their professional schools. University officials and employers across the country are likely to follow suit.

What are the facts behind the *Bakke* decision? How can supporters of affirmative action begin to fight back?

Background to 'Bakke'

Like most professional schools in the University of California system, the Davis medical school was, until a few years ago, accessible only to whites. When the school opened its doors in 1968, the entering class of fifty was all white, with the exception of three Asian students.

The situation in the professional schools mirrored that in the university system as a whole. In 1967, for example, at one Cal State campus only sixteen students were Black; seven were Chicano.

Under the impact of the civil rights movement and growing struggles by minority students for an end to discriminatory admissions practices, special minority admissions programs were established across the country.

In 1969 the UC Davis Medical School established such a program. The university administration

appointed a special task force of minority students and faculty to oversee it.

The program was a modest step toward opening the school to minority students. Each year the task force recommended sixteen “disadvantaged” students to be among the 100 students admitted.

Since the program began, only thirty-three Chicanos, twenty-six Blacks, and one Native American have been admitted through it.

After Bakke's application to the school was rejected in 1973, he persisted in his attempt to be admitted. He wrote a number of letters asking reconsideration.

When that failed, Bakke reapplied to lay the basis for a legal challenge to the minority admissions program.

After again being rejected, Bakke filed in California state court against the University of California Board of Regents. He claimed he had been discriminated against because of his race.

Judge F. Leslie Manker ruled that Bakke's right to equal protection under the law had been violated and declared the minority admissions program unconstitutional. But Manker refused to order the medical school to admit Bakke. The judge held that Bakke had to show that he would have been admitted if there was no minority admissions program.

Both Bakke and the board of regents appealed Manker's decision to the California State Supreme Court. The court, in September 1976, upheld six-to-one Manker's decision overturning the minority admissions program. In addition, it ordered the school to admit Bakke.

Racist arguments

California State Supreme Court Justice Mathew Tobriner refused to join his colleagues in their decision. He pointed out that the Fourteenth Amendment had “served as the basis for the requirement that elementary and secondary schools would be compelled to integrate. . . .”

It was illogical, he argued, that this same law “should now be turned around to forbid graduate schools from voluntarily seeking that very objective.”

Behind the court majority's legal mumbo jumbo stands the whole array of racist myths against affirmative-action programs: “reverse discrimination,” “individual merit,” “quotas.” The only stock argument the court does not advance *explicitly* is that affirmative-action programs lower academic standards.

Reality disproves the California court.

The victims of race and sex discrimination are hardly in a position to impose what the court calls “reverse discrimination.”

It is true that under provisions in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act minorities and women have some small gains in their fight for equality in education and employment.

Nevertheless, they remain grossly underrepresented in the professions and the skilled trades, which have been traditionally reserved for white males.

Genuine affirmative-action programs, including racial and sexual quotas, have proved the only means for minorities and women to break through discriminatory barriers to education and employment.

Such programs are equalizers, compensating for centuries of past discrimination that otherwise



More than 2,000 at University of California Berkeley

would be perpetuated.

Facts in a friend-of-the-court brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court by the deans of California's law schools underscore this point: Under a minority admissions program at the University of California Berkeley Law School, 60 of the 290 students admitted each year are from racial minorities. Without the special program, however, only 1 or 2 would be admitted.

The brief also refutes the argument that minority admissions programs “lower standards.” Students admitted under the special program, the deans said, “do satisfactory work, and a number of them outperform regular-admissions students whose records appeared much better.”

A survey conducted by the Association of American Law Schools indicates the same thing. Without special admissions programs, said one association representative, law schools across the country would revert to the “white enclave they once were.”

The real aim of affirmative-action opponents is not to maintain “the Fourteenth Amendment's integrity” or the “principle of individual merit,” but to maintain the privileged treatment given to white males at the expense of minorities and women.

For Allan Bakke this meant the possibility of a \$100,000-a-year career as a physician upon graduation from medical school.

For the employers, it means maintaining a narrow, conservative stratum of privileged workers as a damper against unrest at the bottom of the heap.

And for AFL-CIO and other labor bureaucrats—typified by the antiquota stance of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker—it means protecting and increasing the privileges of these older, conservative white workers on whom they base their stranglehold of the unions.

Most supporters of minority and women's rights recognize the threat posed by the *Bakke* decision. There is much confusion, however, about how to mount a successful campaign to reverse it.



protest 'Bakke' ruling

Militant/Eric Simpson

A number of organizations—including the National Urban League, United Auto Workers, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and National Organization for Women—urged the U.S. Supreme Court not to review the ruling.

They correctly pointed to the inadequate and unenthusiastic legal battle put up by the university in the case. They reasoned that recent Supreme Court decisions and the court's composition almost automatically guarantee an unfavorable decision. If the Supreme Court upholds the *Bakke* decision, they correctly argued, it will set a national precedent.

How to fight back

Other civil rights groups filed briefs with the court urging it to review the case.

Now that the court has decided to review the case, the NAACP, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Congressional Black Caucus, and National Urban League have stated that they will intervene in the proceeding.

No major civil rights organization, however, has outlined a perspective other than legal arguments or the fight to reverse the *Bakke* decision.

A successful strategy to fight back must be based on a clear understanding of who the enemy is.

The *Bakke* decision is no fluke. It is part and parcel of an orchestrated offensive against the rights and living standards of oppressed minorities.

This offensive has been masterminded by the employers and their Democratic and Republican representatives in government. It is an integral part of the employers' drive to lower the standard of living of the American working class as a whole.

Stemming this racist offensive will therefore require more than talented legal arguments. In this particular case, the Supreme Court must be made to feel the depth of popular opposition to this attempt to undercut minority rights.

Even in more favorable periods, any concessions won by racial minorities from the courts and legislatures were won through concerted, indepen-

dent, direct-action campaigns. During the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, such powerful mass mobilizations of hundreds of Black communities across the country wiped segregationist laws off the books and won certain reforms.

It will take similar powerful mobilizations of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Native Americans, and their supporters to defend these past gains that are currently under attack and to begin to win new ones.

Such a massive response will not spring forth overnight. It will grow from victories in more limited struggles—such as the fight to defend minority admissions at UC Davis Medical School.

Nevertheless, the method of struggle that can ensure victory is the same—independent mobilizations of the oppressed minorities and their allies.

An important example was set by the Bay Area Coalition Against the Bakke Decision, which drew more than 2,000 people to a February 25 protest rally at UC Berkeley. The rally brought together

supporters of affirmative action from Black and Chicano organizations, labor unions, student groups, and the women's movement.

Unfortunately, the leaderships of the most prominent Black and Chicano civil rights organizations—which bear the primary responsibility for leading the necessary response—refuse to do so. Their strategy is to rely on the goodwill of the White House and the Democratic majority in Congress, along with legal arguments in the courts.

This is a dead-end strategy. It can only lead to further setbacks—and ultimately to grave defeats.

A strategy based on the power of the oppressed minorities themselves—that directs that power against the employers and their Democratic and Republican party hirelings in the White House and Congress—would begin to pay off rapidly. Such a strategy would open up the possibility of reversing the *Bakke* decision and of beginning to beat back the racist offensive against minority rights on all fronts.

Race discrimination robs Blacks

The following item, which appeared in the March 20 Washington Post, exposes the myth of "reverse discrimination" advanced by the California Supreme Court in its *Bakke* decision.

The economic effect of racial discrimination is widely debated and never really proven to everyone's satisfaction. Those who oppose the quotas and guidelines contend discrimination is a minor factor today. Harvard's Nathan Glazer cites studies showing that the 1960s produced a narrowing income gap between blacks and whites; young married blacks in the North were

almost at parity in earnings with young white families.

But the overall picture is not one of near-equality. The median family income for blacks in 1976 was only about 62 per cent that of whites. How much of the gap is due to overt discrimination in the marketplace is also debatable and probably unprovable. But at least three major studies, beginning in the early 1960s, found that the black worker makes about 20 per cent less than the white worker solely because of racial discrimination. He loses that much ground because his race makes him less apt to be hired, promoted and rewarded with salary increases than the whites.

Challenge 'roots' of sex bias

Unions, women support pregnancy benefits bill

By Ginny Hildebrand

In 1883 the German government established a national disability program for all workers—including pregnant workers.

"Today, in seventy countries, sick pay covers disability from pregnancy. . . . But in this country, we still haven't done that," Ruth Weyand told the *Militant*.

Weyand is an attorney for the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE). She argued the *Gilbert v. General Electric* case, which exposed flagrant sex discrimination in the company's temporary disability plan. The plan excluded pregnancy, while covering a wide range of uniquely male disabilities, including voluntary vasectomies.

Several lower courts agreed with the union's claim. But on December 7, 1976, the Supreme Court overturned these rulings. This has nothing to do with sex discrimination, argued the court's majority decision. It's just a question of a disability plan "which covers some risks but excludes others."

This outrageous decision sparked the formation of the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers, which Weyand cochaired. The IUE, National Organization for Women (NOW), Coalition of Labor Union Women, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other groups came together to push for legislation outlawing such discrimination.

Senate and House committees have just completed hearings on a bill that would do just that. H.R. 6075 and S. 995 would amend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to bar discrimination "on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions."

'Gross indignity'

Union, feminist, and Black rights leaders testified on behalf of the bill. One of the unionists who spoke at the Senate hearings was Roberta Wood, a leader of the United Steelworkers of America Women's Caucus of District 31. She called denial of pregnancy benefits a "gross indignity that women suffer."

This met with applause from the gallery where a group of women steelworkers were sitting. They'd come from the Chicago area on a bus paid for by USWA locals and by the District 31 office.

Weyand explained to the *Militant* how this "gross indignity" is spelled out in company disability and medical programs:

"I went through one medical policy and found seventeen places where they excluded pregnancy:



'Bah! Humbug!'

Pay for all X-rays, except pregnancy; pay for all laboratory tests, except pregnancy; pay for all visits to the doctor, except pregnancy; pay for use of anesthesia in hospitals, except pregnancy."

Excluding pregnancy from disability plans, continued Weyand, also cuts down on seniority and vacation time. "You can accumulate seniority [even during absence due to disabilities], except for pregnancy; you get vacations based on the amount of time you work, including the time you were off for disability, except for pregnancy," she explained.

"People ask me for model language in contracts and I say, just go through and cross out 'except pregnancy.'"

The proposed bill, said Weyand, "would take out the 'except pregnancy.'"

This would be "too expensive" for employers, complained the National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, and National Insurance Association at the congressional hearings. These big-business representatives charged that women would "abuse" pregnancy disability benefits by staying out of work longer than medically necessary.

These capitalists don't want to spend a penny of

their profits on women's needs and rights. What's more, they see in this bill another challenge to their whole scheme of sex discrimination.

Employers' justification for "a whole complex of discrimination" against women "is rooted in the childbearing role," Susan Deller Ross of the American Civil Liberties Union told the *Militant*.

"They use it to keep women at the bottom of the jobs ladder," added Ross, who is also cochair of the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers.

Weyand agreed. "Historically, companies have paid women lower wages than men on the theory that they're worth less because they're going to be transient employees," she said. "And employers make them transient employees by discharging them as soon as they begin to show that they are pregnant."

The bill, which could come before Congress before summer's end, has been endorsed by President Carter.

In a statement to the *Militant*, Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president in 1976, pointed out that "Carter also gave women a verbal commitment that his administration would ensure ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"But he has done nothing to move the ERA along, and it's in grave peril of not being ratified by the 1979 deadline."

Can't rely on Carter

"We can't rely on Carter's verbal support for the Title VII amendment or let the matter rest in the hands of Congress," she continued. "The wide array of labor, feminist, and civil rights groups backing the bill have the power to drive it through to adoption.

"The demonstration of 400 supporters of the bill at the White House on Mother's Day is the kind of visible, public activity that these forces should organize to ensure its passage."

At its recent national conference, NOW passed a resolution to support the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers. Sara Nelson, head of NOW's labor task force, told the *Militant* that one way NOW might publicize the bill and begin to organize public support for it is through a petitioning campaign.

In New York, Nelson said, the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers tried this. "During one lunch hour," she said, "they got 1,000 signatures."

Victims of cancer-causing DES sue drug firms

By Nancy Cole

Over a period of thirty years, an estimated 2 million women were given a drug during pregnancy that supposedly helped prevent miscarriage.

In at least one case, more than 1,000 women were made unknowing guinea pigs in an experiment that proved the drug's ineffectiveness. But its widespread use continued.

Now it's hitting the headlines as a cancer-causing drug. Only it doesn't affect the women who took the diethylstilbestrol. It hits their daughters.

They're known as the "DES daughters."

In 1971, scientists discovered the link between DES and vaginal or cervical cancer developed after puberty in the daughters of women who took the drug. There is also evidence that their sons may be affected with genital deformities or sterility.

According to the *Washington Post*, even with the cancer discovery doctors "continued to write thousands of prescriptions for it annually. . . . The Food and Drug Administration repeatedly has warned doctors about the danger and ineffectiveness of DES."

Most DES daughters have vaginal adenosis, an abnormal cellular formation that may be the precursor to vaginal cancer. DES victims need medical checkups every six months, but the problem is that many aren't even aware of it. Most women probably weren't told what drug they were being

given, and the drug companies and medical facilities aren't doing a whole lot to inform them.

Assistant Secretary of State Patsy Mink was told twenty-six years ago that the pills given her were "vitamins." In 1976—five years after the cancer link became known—a University of Chicago-owned hospital notified her that she had been part of a DES experiment.

"Morally, there is no excuse for their failure to do everything humanly possible to reach the mothers who were victimized this way," she says. "Their failure to do so is utterly unbelievable. I can't think of any mother in this experiment who is more well known than I. They knew where to find me."

Mink and two other women have filed a class-action suit against the University of Chicago and Eli Lilly & Company, a drug manufacturer. They are asking \$77.7 million in damages on behalf of themselves and 1,080 other women in the 1950-1952 experiment.

In Detroit, 144 DES daughters and 40 of their husbands launched a civil suit against eighteen drug manufacturers. All 144 women have undergone surgery for removal of cancerous or precancerous lesions.

One difficulty faced by DES victims wanting to take legal action is pinpointing what drug company to sue. DES was sold by a number of companies under the same name, and prescrip-



PATSY MINK. Doctors gave her DES and said it was vitamins.

tion records are hard to locate.

The Detroit suit charges joint liability by all eighteen companies because they all sold DES. A Wayne County Circuit Court judge rejected the argument for joint responsibility May 16 and dismissed the case. The plaintiffs will appeal.

"In any case," comments *Time* magazine, U.S. courts may well be bombarded with DES lawsuits for the next ten years or more."

True to form, the drug companies are admitting nothing. Cancer of the vagina or cervix occurs naturally in

the population as a whole, they argue. And, besides, only 200 or so of the DES daughters are known to have gotten cancer.

Coincidentally, Dr. Arthur Herbst, who first reported the cancer link in 1971, now works for the University of Chicago. And he's done a little backtracking lately.

In the May issue of the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* he downplayed statistics on DES daughters with cancer, suggesting that DES is not a "complete" carcinogen. It may only act in combination with several other factors, he says, including the onset of puberty!

"I would hope that this data would provide a calming influence by indicating that this disease is extremely rare among the DES-exposed group and, in fact, is more rare than had been assumed previously," Herbst wrote.

It's not too soothing for Eileen Lyons and women from five states who met in New York at the end of April. They're all daughters of mothers who took DES.

Parenthetically, Lyons says the number of DES daughters with cancer is up to 333 at last count.

The peak age for those women is nineteen. "A lot of the women affected by DES are still very young," Lyons told the *Militant*. "The drug was prescribed heavily in the 1960s, so

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World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MAY 27, 1977

'Loyalist' strike fizzles in Northern Ireland

By Gerry Foley

After four days, the general strike launched May 3 by the ultraright proimperialist organizations in Northern Ireland had failed to paralyze the economic life of the British enclave.

The results achieved fell far short of those of the "loyalist" strike in 1974, which did effectively shut down the six Irish counties ruled directly by London.

The reason for the failure of the latest strike seemed clear. This time, unlike 1974, the British authorities were united in their opposition to it. In the April 28 *Irish Times*, Claud Cockburn reviewed the attitude of British officials during the 1974 strike:

The Army High Command in the North was divided in its reasons for not taking action at the beginning of the strike, when military action against the intimidators and bully-boys could probably have been successful.

One faction in the High Command was, silently but implacably, opposed to the Catholics whom it identified with the Provisionals. In the view of that faction, a very powerful one in the British Army, the militant Protestant leadership might be a bit of a pain in the neck but was basically on the right side. Our sort.

The other bit of the High Command

simply based its reasons for inaction at the critical moment upon alleged technical considerations. Their spokesman said—and they told Harold Wilson [then prime minister] so—that the Army in the North just did not have the technically qualified manpower to run power stations and thus keep the North going despite the strike.

There was, you will recall, that mysterious weekend during which Harold Wilson first seemed to be announcing that he was going to use all available forces to keep the power-sharing Government [including Catholics] from being toppled by a *coup d'état*, and then, after consultations at Chequers with the military, remained passionately passive.

The power plants were decisive in the last loyalist strike. Their shutting down meant that the rest of the economy had to stop functioning. At the same time, it showed unmistakably that the strike organizers were in control, and guaranteed that political and physical intimidation by the ultraright loyalists would be effective.

This time, not only did the British authorities and the army make clear in advance that they were united in opposing the strike, but powerful economic pressures were brought to bear on the Protestant workers.

A few days before the strike, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Roy Mason announced that Harland and

Wolff shipyards had just received a £60 million contract that would assure 2,000 jobs for the next two years. The workers in this declining enterprise, now dependent on government support, are a key section of the Protestant labor aristocracy.

After announcing the new contract, Mason warned:

If there is any disruption, if there is any illegal act which could scar the image of Northern Ireland once again, then you all must face up to the fact that it will cause economic decline. It will be difficult to hold the orders we've got and to attract more to Northern Ireland.

Fionnuala O Connor's report in the April 30 *Irish Times* on her interviews with Harland and Wolff workers indicated that Mason's carrot-and-stick approach had been successful. One worker was quoted as saying: "If we lose the order we'll lose the yard, that's the effect it [Mason's announcement] had. God knows we've waited long enough for it [the contract]."

The shipyard workers voted overwhelmingly against the strike, and the other key sections of the Protestant working class followed their lead.

Ian Paisley

The most well-known Loyalist politician backing the strike was the preacher Ian Paisley. The organization that called it was the United Unionist Action Council (UUAC), which includes the far-right loyalist groups. It does not include the Official Unionist party or the Orange Order, neither of which supported the strike. But in 1974 also the more direct representatives of the Protestant bourgeoisie hung back.

Until now, whenever there has been a confrontation between a more moderate and more rightist alternative in Protestant politics, the rightist one has always won out. There has been a steady march to the right.

Now, for the first time, the loyalist forces pushing to the right have apparently been blocked. Analysts in the big British and Irish papers wrote that the UUAC had bitten off too much to chew, since its action this time was directed against the authority of

the British state itself. It was demanding not the withdrawal of a concession to the local Catholic middle class as in 1974, but the restoration of the Belfast Protestant parliament and a war of extermination on the militant Irish organizations.

It is hard to believe that the UUAC leaders themselves believed such goals were attainable. Moreover, in the past Paisley was not a strong supporter of restoring the local parliament but favored total integration of Northern Ireland into the United Kingdom.

Note of desperation

Nonetheless, Paisley committed himself this time to a position from which he could not retreat without big losses. In the April 30 *Irish Times*, David McKittrick wrote:

He has always left himself an escape clause and that is why his current position is an unfamiliar one for him. For the first time, he bet everything. It is now all or nothing.

There was a note of desperation in the strike leaders' appeals that became stronger as the action faltered. A May 6 AP dispatch quoted Paisley as saying: "The strike will go on. It must. This is a life-or-death struggle."

The failure of the strike shows clearly that while the Loyalist organizations have a certain autonomy vis-à-vis the British capitalist class and its government, in the last analysis they can play no independent role.

The question is why the Loyalists decided to press ahead with this strike when the chances for success were so dim.

Part of the answer at least seems to be that the deepening economic crisis and the continuing conflict are beginning to wear down the illusions and proimperialist belligerency of the poor Protestants, on which the loyalist demagogues directly depend.

For example, in the April 30 *Irish Times*, Fionnuala O Connor quoted a Protestant shipyard worker as saying: "I don't know who gives them the jurisdiction to call a thing like this—now if they could give you a guarantee it'd end the trouble, that'd be different."



Ian Paisley at start of May 3 strike demanding restoration of Belfast Protestant parliament

Strike called off

The United Unionist Action Council finally called off its attempted general strike May 14, eleven days after the ill-fated project was launched.

The May 15 *New York Times* reported that right-wing Protestant terrorist groups were said to have killed at least three Protestants and wounded more than twenty-five others during attempts to enforce the strike. Sixty other people, including thirty cops, were injured in street clashes.

In explaining its decision to call

off the strike, the UUAC tried to ignore the meager support the strike received, hypocritically citing instead the UUAC's horror at the violence that took place. "Too many lives have been lost during the past seven years," the group said, "to put one more at risk."

Nonetheless, the rightists claimed their strike had been a success. They said it publicized their demands for an all-out offensive by Britain against the Irish Republican Army and the restoration of Protestant rule in Northern Ireland.

May Day

Spain: 'democracy' under a horsewhip

On April 29 in Washington, Spanish Premier Adolfo Suárez received Carter's accolade for achieving a "move toward freedom and democracy" in Spain that "has been brilliant and much better than we had hoped."

Two days after getting Carter's seal of approval, the Suárez government unleashed the Francoist police against rallies called by the workers unions to commemorate May Day.

According to legislation recently passed by the Spanish parliament, the independent unions have the right to legal activity. Nonetheless, the government banned the rallies these unions called to commemorate May Day. The pretext was that public demonstrations might lead to "violence," presumably by "provoking" the right.

In practice, the government's talk about the need for calm served as an excuse to give the Francoist police free rein. A May 1 Reuters dispatch described one incident in the Spanish capital:

On the outskirts of Madrid mounted riot policemen charged at full gallop to disperse several hundred leftists who had gathered in a wooded park for a 45-minute rally. The police lashed people with long leather whips as they fled.

The police moved on horseback through an outdoor cafe, forcing out clients and whipping those who moved too slowly. Three foreign correspondents were also whipped by the police after identifying themselves.

One of the policemen forced the customers to chant the traditional Francoist cry of "Arriba España" . . . and to give the Falangist salute.

A police officer, shouting "Franco is not dead," told the three correspondents . . . that they had two minutes to leave the cafe.

All three were lashed with a long horse whip when they asked which way the police wanted them to go.

According to a dispatch in the May 3 issue of *Le Monde*, about 15,000 persons had gathered in the Casa de Campo park in Madrid for a political picnic. Leaders of the Workers Commissions, the union in which the Communist party has the predominant influence, asked the police for permission to address the crowd. They were told they could speak for fifteen minutes. The police claimed that they had found machine guns in a car and were afraid that "either the right or the left" might create an incident.

'Provocations'?

During the mass upsurge following the murder of four labor lawyers in Madrid at the end of January, the big reformist organizations accepted the government's argument that public protests would enable the right to stage provocations. In fact, the leaderships of the SP and CP unions were so impressed by this reasoning that they ceased most public activity. Obviously the government intends to go on using an argument that has proved so effective.

The government's argument is nothing if not flexible. It could be used to claim that demonstrations had to be banned in order to avoid "provoking the right," or according to other versions, to avoid "upsetting the army." Thus, the ban was not really aimed at the unions at all but at the right!

The unions announced May 2 that the rampaging cops had injured 200 persons in Madrid alone, where, they estimated, about 60,000 persons had tried to observe May Day.

Two days after the violent repression of the May Day rallies, Suárez announced that he will be a candidate in the June 15 elections in order to "avoid the division of Spaniards into two hostile camps."

The implication was that the premier had decided to step forward to strengthen the defense against the right. In an editorial in its April 28 issue, the *New York Times* helped convey this impression:

Mr. Suarez implies a willingness to run himself, to take the leadership of the weak and divided center parties . . . and to try to form a strong center bloc. But he has been under army pressure to remain neutral during the election, which would then most likely yield a plurality for the right.

Actually, the most vocal opposition to Suárez running has not come from the right but from the main Social Democratic party, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party).

'Democratic' veneer

The PSOE feared that Suárez was planning to maintain the gigantic, enormously wealthy government-controlled political apparatus in the guise of a "center-left coalition." Along with the weighting of parliamentary representation in favor of the conservative areas, the use of such machinery could enable the premier to avoid opening up much room in legal politics for the workers parties and still give the Francoist regime the necessary "democratic" veneer.

Since the Social Democrats' perspectives are mainly electoralist and parliamentary, such a scheme would pose a direct threat to their hopes. The CP, which is more tightly organized and has more activists, could hope to build its influence in the mass movements, even in the shadow of Suárez.

The PSOE was reassured, however, by Suárez's concessions at the end of March and in early April—he accepted in theory the workers' right to organize their own unions and he legalized the CP.

For example, in its April 16 issue, *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly close to the PSOE, said:

It is now being said by semiofficial sources that Suárez has rejected the temp-



MAY DAY 1977: tear gas and rubber bullets in the streets of Madrid

Rouge

tation to run in the elections as the head of an electoral coalition. . . . If he runs, it will be as an individual. . . . We won't know if he is going to run until the last minute. Is this important for the immediate future of the country? It doesn't seem so. What is important is the fact, once again according to presidential sources, that the premier is obsessed with the idea that the next parliament has to draw up a democratic constitution. . . . And the appearance in strength of the People's Alliance [the more openly rightist post-Francoist party led by Manuel Fraga Iribarne] in the two houses of parliament . . . would make this aim untenable.

Workers press demands

It is now clear that Suárez is going to run and not as an individual. The repression of the May Day rallies made dramatically clear how limited and precarious all the government's concessions are in practice. Will the PSOE leaders now decide that their fears about a maneuver by Suárez to prejudice the elections were justified? Will they decide that they should throw all their strength into mobilizing the workers against the regime of Franco's heirs? On the basis of past performance they are more likely to decide that Suárez is motivated by a commendable "obsession" to block the right, and should be encouraged.

However, in Madrid 4,000 metalworkers have already gone on strike to press demands for the release of arrested demonstrators. The unions have been forced to threaten more strikes if the government prosecutes those arrested. And in the case of the mass upsurge touched off by the January murders, the CP and the SP could not prevent the workers from fighting back against the government's attacks.

Millions celebrate around the world

Violent repression was unleashed against demonstrators in many countries May 1 when they went out into the streets to voice their grievances and show solidarity with their brothers and sisters struggling throughout the world. Scores of persons were killed, wounded, or jailed in Turkey, Spain, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and Greece.

A frequent theme of the protests was the need to fight the austerity programs capitalist rulers around the world have imposed.

In **Istanbul**, a rally of more than 100,000 persons in Taksim Square was broken up by police with machine guns, tear gas, and armored cars. At least 34 persons were killed, with an additional 200 injured. Several hundred persons were arrested.

The rally was called by the 500,000-member Revolutionary Workers Trade-Union Confederation (DISK), which is heavily influenced by the Turkish Communist party.

Accounts of how the violence began are contradictory, but the extreme right-wing National Action party has taken the clash as a pretext to call for the banning of DISK.

Eight peasants were shot and killed at a May Day action in **San Salvador**. The demonstrators were responding to the call of the United Trade Union Federation to defy an official ban on demonstrations.

Police opened fire on demonstrators en route to May Day rallies in **Colombo**, Sri Lanka. The police said that they fired when some demonstrators began stoning government-owned buses carrying people to one of several rallies. At least thirty persons were shot in the incident.

In **Manila**, a march of about 1,000 persons protesting Marcos's curbs on civil liberties was attacked by police



MAY DAY 1977: at least 34 killed during attack on rally of 100,000 in Istanbul

World news notes

with high-powered water hoses. More than fifty persons were arrested. They were accused of possessing literature attacking the government and the activities of certain multinational firms.

Hundreds of thousands of persons marched to the headquarters of the General Federation of Greek Workers in Athens. The demonstrators chanted, "Don't shift the burden of the crisis onto the workers," "No more profits for the monopolies," "No banning of mass organizations," and "Better working conditions."

In a separate action called by the Maoists in Athens, twenty-one protesters were injured and fifteen arrested during a clash with police.

Portugal

One hundred fifty thousand persons attended a May Day rally in Lisbon, which *Le Monde* described as "the most impressive gathering since May 1, 1974."

The rally, called by the Portuguese Communist party and a number of the smaller groups of the left, was dedicated "to defending the gains of April 25 [1974]." Although the Socialist party leadership issued an appeal to its members on the eve of the rally urging them not to participate, prominent SP members ignored the directive. Among those present on the rally platform were Kalidas Barreto, a former SP senator and now deputy general secretary of Intersindical, and Lopes Cardoso, a former SP minister of agriculture who is identified with the SP's left wing.

March organizers estimated a turnout of 100,000 persons in Paris, in an action called by the General Confederation of Labor and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, with the support of virtually all the other left groups except the Maoists.

The banner setting the tone for the march read "Against the Barre [austerity] plan. We are fighting for purchasing power, jobs, social security, freedom, and rights for workers throughout Europe and the world."

'Out of Zaire'

There were also banners calling for "Freedom of organization for immigrants" and "French soldiers out of Zaire."

Le Monde reported sizable contingents of Algerian and other foreign workers, supporters of the ecology movement, and members of the oppressed nationalities within the French state.

The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported that 15,000 persons marched in the revolutionary contingent, a big increase over past years.

A women's liberation contingent of 6,000 protested the status of women as "Last hired, first fired, inadequately trained, cheap labor." Many of the chants focused on the fight for the right to abortion.

A contingent of gay activists numbered 1,000 persons.

In Tiflis, six members of the Soviet Helsinki monitoring groups observed a one-day fast to protest the April 7 arrest of Georgian writer Zviad Gamsakhurdia and musician Merab Kostava, both members of the monitoring groups.

Ten million in Japan

More than ten million persons demonstrated throughout Japan. The Tokyo action drew 500,000 and there were rallies in more than 1,000 other cities.

Almost 100,000 Lebanese attended a rally in Beirut, where they heard Palestine Liberation Organization

leader Yasir Arafat pay tribute to slain Lebanese leader Kamal Jumblatt and pledge that "the Palestinian revolution will continue, and the Lebanese nationalist movement will continue to be as giant as always."

In Addis Ababa, 300,000 persons heard junta leader Mengistu Haile Mariam say that the recent expulsion of five American agencies ended an era of "slavery" imposed by Washington. Mengistu used his speech to demagogically whip up support for the junta's reactionary plans to arm tens of thousands of peasants for a "people's war" against Eritrean secessionists.

Several thousand persons demonstrated throughout Israel, with 3,000 attending the central rally in Tel Aviv. The main slogans of the rally were "The occupation is a disaster," "An end to the expropriation of Arab land," and "Free contraceptives for all." Most of the demonstrators were from the Israeli Black Panthers and the Rakah faction of the Israeli CP.

Chile

A statement by 126 trade-union leaders in Chile was published in the Santiago daily papers May 1. The statement, directed at President Augusto Pinochet, protested the lack of democratic rights and trade union freedoms in Chile.

Reuters reported that China's May Day celebrations were used to build up the personality cult around Hua Kuo-feng.

"The official newspaper, Jenmin Jih Pao, published an article by Mr. Hua spread over three pages," the May 1 dispatch from Peking reported. "His picture hung above crowds thronging Peking parks, and television coverage concentrated on the 56-year-old successor of the late Mao Tse-tung."

Reuters also noted that "newspapers have carried numerous photographs of the Chairman in Mao-like poses. . . ."

1,000 hit arrest of Hong Kong Trotskyists

One thousand persons marched on the police station in Kowloon, Hong Kong, May 1 to demand the release of two imprisoned Trotskyists, members of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). The two had been arrested April 29 during a demonstration in the city's workers districts. The action was called to demand that May Day be declared a paid holiday. Following their arrest, the RML members were tortured and began a protest hunger strike.

At the close of the demonstration in front of the Kowloon jail, four more RML members were beaten and arrested by the police. All six were charged with participating in illegal May Day actions.

The May 3 issue of *Rouge*, reporting on these events, called for telegrams of protest to be sent to the Hong Kong authorities, with copies to the RML, 523 Shanghai Street I/F, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

Strikes up sharply in Britain

The number of days lost due to strikes in March topped the million mark in Great Britain for the first time since 1974, the April 28 London *Times* reported.

The 1.12 million production days lost through walkouts in March brought the total number of strike days in the first three months of 1977 to 2.33 million—more than two-thirds the total days lost during the whole of 1976. By comparison only 303,000 strike days were recorded in March 1976.

The 1977 figures reflect the major strike by toolroom workers at British Leyland as well as an eleven-week strike at Massey Ferguson. Other walkouts have occurred so far this year in shipbuilding, engineering, metals, and vehicle production.

The *Times* cited "growing frustration" over wage controls as a major factor in the sharp increase in strikes.

CIA at work in Australian unions

The Central Intelligence Agency was "manipulating the leadership of labor unions" in Australia in order to suppress strikes by transportation workers there in 1974, according to a former employee of TRW Corporation who monitored secret CIA communications as part of his job.

Christopher Boyce, who was convicted of espionage in Los Angeles April 28, testified at his trial that the CIA was working "around the airports" and with railroad workers and pilots. According to a report in the April 29 *New York Times*, "He is also said to believe that the C.I.A. was infiltrating the Australian labor unions to dampen opposition to the [CIA satellite intelligence] bases in the country as well as to further pro-American feelings."

2,000 in France protest A-plant

Two thousand persons demonstrated April 23 in Chalon-sur-Saône, a small town about forty miles south of Dijon, against the proposed construction of two 1,800-megawatt nuclear reactors and a uranium enrichment plant in two nearby hamlets.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Antinuclear Coordinating Committee of the Saône Valley, was the latest in a series of protests that have mobilized thousands of opponents of nuclear power plants across France.

While the Chalon protesters were joined by representatives of the Socialist party, the United Socialist party, and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, representatives of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the Communist party were noticeably absent.

During an April 29 visit to a nuclear reactor construction site, Georges Seguy, head of the CGT, said that the development of nuclear power represented the "decisive answer" to France's growing energy needs, according to a report in the May 2 issue of *Le Monde*. He warned against paying heed to the "utopian campaigns" of the ecologists, which he termed "scientifically unfounded."

314 prisoners released in Peru

Peruvian President Francisco Morales Bermúdez freed 314 prisoners April 27. Many of them were identified as political prisoners arrested under state security proceedings over the past year.

Amnesty International on Cambodia

In a statement issued May 8, Amnesty International expressed concern at the failure of the Cambodian government to answer past appeals and inquiries.

The international human-rights organization said that in February it had appealed to Cambodian President Khieu Samphan to look into the fate of twenty-six Cambodian citizens forcibly returned to Cambodia by the Thai government in November 1976. The twenty-six persons, mainly farmers but including an eleven-year-old child, were later reported to have been executed shortly after their return.

Amnesty International has also made a separate appeal to the Thai regime, urging that refugees not be forced to return to their country of origin when there are possibilities of reprisals.

The appeal to Khieu Samphan was contained in a letter that also inquired about reports alleging summary executions and maltreatment of civilians by local authorities in some areas of Cambodia. The letter has remained unanswered, as have all previous inquiries made by Amnesty International to the Cambodian government.

Commenting on the reports of executions, Amnesty International said that while the allegations have not been corroborated, their "number and gravity . . . cannot be ignored."

Japan airport struggle

On April 17, 20,000 people demonstrated at Narita, Japan, April 17 to protest the land seizures and environmental damage caused by the new Tokyo International Airport.

As this action was ending, riot police attacked a section of the crowd and arrested a number of demonstrators. Among those attacked was a contingent of 1,200 members of the Communist Youth League (JCYL), the youth organization affiliated with the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International. Seven members of the JCYL were arrested.

In addition, a press statement issued by the JRCL April 23 reports, "Early next morning, the police raided four of the JCYL's local offices and several comrades were injured by the police violence. On the pretext of 'searching,' local police terrorized our comrades and destroyed the office facilities."

India: rapid increase in labor strikes, slowdowns

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR, India—The Indian working class was hard hit by the emergency imposed by former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Workers were the prime targets of various measures undertaken by her regime, including the freezing of their wages while prices were allowed to soar.

Now that the emergency has been withdrawn and the Janata party government of Morarji Desai has repealed the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Ordinance and restored many democratic rights, Indian workers have begun to pay more attention to their economic and trade-union problems.

According to an April 6 dispatch in the *Economic Times*, worker unrest is threatening production in Maharashtra, one of the most industrialized states. More than fifty large, medium, and small factories have been affected by strikes, lockouts, slowdowns, morchas (processions), and demonstrations, involving about 75,000 workers. The number of factories affected by such disturbances is rapidly increasing.

In Greater Bombay alone, there have been more than fifty strikes during February and March, according to the Labor and Police departments. Twenty-five to thirty factories have been hit in the Thana Belapur industrial complex near Bombay. Ten cases of "closure or lockout" were also reported.

Trade unions have begun to flood the government with memoranda listing their demands:



STRIKING DELHI RAILROAD WORKERS IN 1974: now that state of emergency is over, labor militancy is reviving.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, a trade-union affiliate of Jan Sangh, one of the most influential components of the Janata party government, has passed a resolution demanding:

Restoration of the pre-emergency bonus policy and its extension to all workers.

Immediate scrapping of the compulsory deposit scheme.

Restoration of wage agreements in the Life Insurance Corporation and other industries where those had been annulled during the emergency.

An end to all types of victimisation inflicted on workers during the period of the emergency and making good the loss suffered by them on that account.

The initiation of inquiries about police excesses against workers and their organisations during the emer-

gency.

The Scindia Steam Navigation Company employees union demanded "the restoration of privileges and rights of employees which were taken away by the actions of the management during the emergency."

Even the Indian National Trade Union Congress [the trade-union federation dominated by Gandhi's Congress party—IP] has urged the government to accord legislative sanction to the announcement that the traditional bonus is a deferred wage.

The National Federation of Petroleum Workers and the Indian National Chemical Workers Federation have submitted a memorandum listing their demands relating to pay revisions, dearness allowances, bonus, etc.

Janata party Labor Minister Ravin-

dra Varma has initiated a series of exploratory talks with capitalists and central trade-union leaders. Meanwhile, employers have demanded an industrial truce.

The question yet to be decided is: How far will the Janata party government allow the rise in workers' struggles to develop and grow unhindered?

In view of the difficult economic situation, the options before the new government are limited. "Far from healthy," is how the new finance minister, H.M. Patel, characterised the economy March 30 in the Lok Sabha [the lower house of Parliament—IP]. There are problems of inadequate growth both in agriculture and industry, rising unemployment, and increasing numbers of factory closures.

Countering the claims of C. Subramaniam, finance minister in the Gandhi regime, regarding the economic achievements of the emergency, Patel said that the 8.5 percent growth in national income in 1975-76 compared to 0.2 percent in 1974-75 was largely due to "favorable weather conditions." He warned that agricultural production was expected to decline substantially during the current year, noting that production trends for coarse grains, pulses, and oil seeds were particularly discouraging.

Wholesale prices have been rising relentlessly since March of last year; by March 1977 they had risen 12 percent.

The major tenets of the new government's economic policy will become clearer in May, when it will announce its budgetary proposals.

April 22, 1977

Role of Stalinist parties in India's recent election

JAMNAGAR, India—The pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) suffered a crushing defeat in the March general elections because of its support for former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's repressive policies.

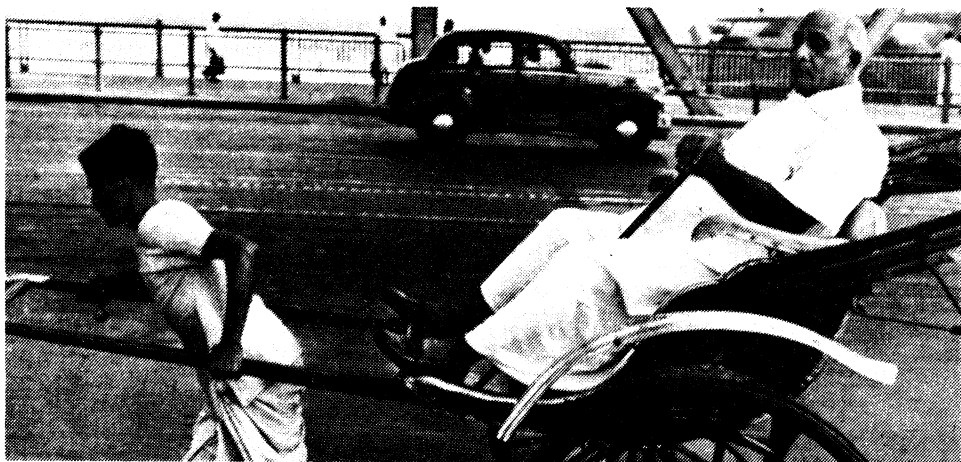
The CPI's all-India vote fell from 69.36 lakhs* (4.73%) in 1971 to 53.10 lakhs (2.82%) in 1977. The number of seats held by the CPI plummeted from twenty-three to seven.

The left CP, the Communist party of India (Marxist), CPI(M), formed an electoral alliance with the Janata party. It polled 81.03 lakh votes (4.30%) against 75.11 lakh votes (5.12%) in 1971. However, it won twenty-two seats as against twenty-five in 1971.

Thus, overall, Stalinist representation in the sixth Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) has been considerably reduced.

The CPI published a sterile, half-hearted self-criticism of its policy in the April 10 issue of the party's central organ, *New Age*. The National Council resolution admits that the main reason for the CPI's rout at the hustings was its total support for Gandhi's emergency measures. However, the CPI still retains the untenable position that the emergency was initially a boon. Only later, with the rise of Indira Gandhi's son Sanjay and an "extra-constitutional centre of power," did the emergency begin to exhibit what it calls "negative" features.

In the CPI's opinion, "it was a serious mistake for our party not to have called for the lifting of the emergency once its negative features had begun to come to the fore. A proper understanding was lacking that vast emergency powers could not be allowed to remain in the hands of the bourgeois state and its bureaucracy for a long



RICHES AND POVERTY IN INDIA: Stalinists say they 'overestimated progressive potentiality of the national bourgeoisie.'

time." In other words, there would be no harm if such powers are allowed for a short time, though the CPI fails to spell out the length of time that would be acceptable.

The CPI resolution continues in a cynical vein: "There was the mistaken understanding that the emergency could be used to bring about progressive shifts in the state power in a national democratic direction. The progressive potentiality of the national bourgeoisie and of its representatives in the Congress headed by Indira Gandhi was overestimated. . . ."

This betrays the extent of revisionist thinking of the Stalinists in India. The emergency provisions in Articles 356 to 360 of the Indian constitution are unique. Such provisions in peacetime are not to be found in any of the bourgeois-democratic federal constitutions in the world. They are a built-in mechanism to install a constitutional dictatorship of the bourgeoisie without recourse to naked military rule.

Instead of demanding that these articles be scrapped, the CPI engages

in wishful thinking—after nineteen months of nightmarish experience with the emergency—that the repressive fist of the bourgeois state in the form of emergency powers can be used for desired changes without any fundamental change in the state power.

The CPI now acknowledges that on the question of the emergency there was nothing to distinguish it from the ruling Congress party. "In the mind of large sections of the masses our demarcation from the Congress became blurred. The independent image of our party was eroded," the resolution admits.

Completely lacking, however, is any admission that this erosion occurred because of the CPI's class-collaborationist policy and its total failure to pursue independent working-class politics. It is therefore unable to explain the paradox of a four-party rightist combine—the Janata party—restoring bourgeois-democratic freedoms throttled by the "progressive" Gandhi.

As against this evaluation, Harkishen Singh Surjeet of the CPI(M) criticizes the CPI resolution—from a class-collaborationist perspective, of course—in the April 17 issue of *People's Democracy*. He castigates the CPI for failing to respond to the call for left and democratic unity.

Along with the All-India Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist party, the CPI(M) has extended its support to the Janata party government. In a March 29 joint statement these parties expressed the view that the consolidation and strengthening of the left and democratic forces was the urgent need of the hour. But nowhere does this statement stress the need for independent proletarian politics.

A CPI(M) Central Committee statement issued March 26-27 congratulates the Janata party and the Congress for Democracy on their victory and presents a list of immediate tasks for the new regime. The entire thrust of the statement is to place political confidence in the new government for the solution of basic tasks.

Thus, both the two major Stalinist tendencies fail to come to grips with the complex social reality of India. Both fail to perceive that the Janata party victory was due to the failure of the CPI and CPI(M) to provide a clear revolutionary perspective on the central question of these elections—that is, the nature and limitations of bourgeois democracy in India. Neither party held up the revolutionary ideal of socialist democracy, even if only for propaganda purposes.

Consequently, the electoral politics of both parties had to be subordinated to one or the other bourgeois formation in India. Now both are paying the price for their class-collaborationist politics.

April 24, 1977

*One lakh equals 100,000 units.—IP

Jury says Bill of Rights worth plenty

By Diane Wang

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. . . ."

—Fourth Amendment, Bill of Rights

A jury in a U.S. district court in New York recommended a price tag of \$2,500 to \$10,000 for that basic right to privacy. The case is the first trial charging the CIA with illegal mail openings.

Norman Birnbaum, a sociology professor at Amherst College; Leonard Avery, a Minneapolis advertising executive; and Mary Rule MacMillen, a writer from Massachusetts, discovered that the CIA had opened letters they had sent to colleagues or relatives in the Soviet Union.

The CIA had opened the letters as part of a twenty-year-long surveil-

lance program. Between 1953 and 1973 the CIA reportedly opened more than 200,000 pieces of mail.

The three sued the government. Birnbaum sought \$50,000 in damages; the other two asked \$20,000 each.

Monetary damages in lawsuits such as this are usually only given because of specific damaging consequences a person has suffered. But in this case, the three did not charge that their letters had been published or used to harass them—only that their mail had been illegally opened, in violation of the Fourth Amendment.

The government did not deny the charges, but tried to shrug them off. "The fact that their letters were opened is perhaps unfortunate, but necessary," claimed Justice Department lawyer John Boese in sum-

ming up his case for the jury.

"If you feel there are not damages, there should be no award," Boese urged. "And if you feel some damages should be assessed as a token so that the law should not be violated—five dollars to ten dollars—that would not be to say that's what you think the rights are worth."

Herbert Jordan, Birnbaum's attorney, told the jury it was an "insult" to the American people to suggest that their basic rights were worth only a nominal amount.

"Apparently they agreed," Jordan commented in an interview with the *Militant*.

"Here we had twelve people, a cross section of American people, on the jury. We didn't know whether they would be swayed by the grandeur of the government, the mystery of the CIA, the importance of

intelligence-gathering, and so forth," Jordan said. "But every one of them felt there is no justification for the CIA doing this, that rights are valuable and the government should pay for it—and pay handsomely."

The jury's recommendation is not binding on the judge in this case. U.S. District Court Judge Jack Weinstein will decide the legal issues and consider the jury's opinion.

Jordan pointed out that the jury's recommendation will not necessarily set a legal precedent. "To me the significance is political," he said. "It is a reaffirmation that people still care about these rights and are jealous of them."

"People are telling the government that it must not think these powerful agencies can get by with infringing these rights, even when they do it to gather intelligence."

Files show FBI targeted gay organizations

By Diane Wang

The FBI has never masked its hatred of gays.

"Pick the Fag Contest," said one FBI leaflet aimed at discrediting anti-Vietnam War protesters. FBI informers routinely used epithets such as "queer" in their reports.

So it is an outrage, but not a surprise, to find that the FBI has spied on and tried to disrupt the gay movement.

In 1975 the Gay Activists Alliance requested FBI files about its organization. The government took sixteen months to process its reply and censor files for release. The result was finally turned over to GAA early this year: five pages of FBI files.

These few documents are nonetheless an admission that the FBI did target the gay movement.

One page from the released files describes the 1972 gay protest at the Inner Circle Dinner at the New York Hilton. Former GAA presidents Jim Owles and Morty Manford were brutally beaten at that demonstration by a gang led by the head of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association.

Another page is a FBI special agent's report on a 1971 gay rights demonstration.

The rest are highly censored descriptions of GAA participation in protests at the 1972 Democratic and Republican party conventions.

The *Gay Activist*, which reprinted the FBI files in its latest issue, commented, "Such spying clearly represents a violation of the civil rights of all gay activists, who have been doing nothing more than exercising constitutional rights supposedly guaranteed under the Bill of Rights."

More than snooping

More about FBI antigay operations was revealed by Earl Robert Merritt in February and March issues of the *Advocate*. Merritt told about his activities as an informer for the local police and FBI in several Washington, D.C., gay groups between 1970 and 1972.

The FBI operations Merritt describes are familiar FBI dirty tricks, the same ones used against the Black movement, antiwar activists, women fighting for their rights, and socialists.

Merritt said, for example, that he was encouraged to create dissension in groups. He recalled spreading rumors that certain gay activists were informers. (The FBI calls that "putting a snitch jacket" on someone.)

Merritt said his informer job had included calling Black groups to antagonize them against gays and trying to incite violence inside the gay organizations.

In addition, Merritt told the paper, he was urged to steal mailing lists, petitions, contributors' lists, and other documents from groups he infiltrated.

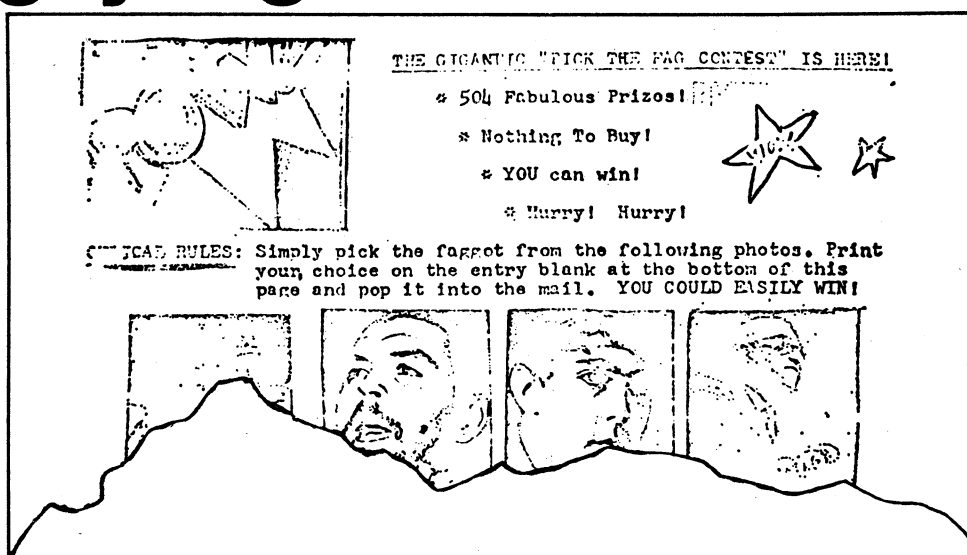
Why spy?

Why has the FBI targeted groups that are simply fighting for basic civil and human rights? The released FBI files give no justification. The agents described the GAA as "a homosexual group headquartered in New York City, whose purpose is the promotion of 'gay rights.'" Certainly no crime is cited there!

A spokesperson for the National Gay Task Force in New York commented, "The idea that taxpayers' money should be spent on spying on groups that are openly doing what they're doing to gain redress of grievances is lunacy . . . we don't do anything secret."

David Thorstad of the GAA pointed out the real reason for the spying in a telephone interview with the *Militant*: "It's pretty obvious why they do it," he said. "It's to the advantage of the ruling class to disrupt every movement for social change. . . . In this regard, the gay movement is the same as any other movement—the women's movement, the Black movement, the antiwar movement, or the socialist movement, or whatever. They are all subjected to this kind of thing."

Any movement that challenges the exploitation and oppression of society has been considered a threat and targeted by the FBI.



This 1969 'pick the fag' leaflet put out by the FBI showed the bureau's hatred of gays.

When the *Militant* asked Morris Kight of the Gay Community Service Center in Los Angeles about the FBI operations, he pointed out that targeting the gay movement is an extension of past FBI attempts to intimidate gays active in the labor and antiwar movements.

Kight recalled that whenever the FBI tried to question him in the late 1950s and early 1960s they would begin by asking about his homosexuality. "Invariably I would say to them, 'Being gay is not a federal offense and thus ought to be none of your business,'" Kight said. "But I'm not at all sure all gay people were able to withstand that kind of pressure. I

think a lot of good people were driven from the movement.

"Then when the gay liberation movement itself emerged, the government launched an intensive and enormously expensive program of spying," Kight concluded.

What's next?

Thorstad said that the GAA is insisting that the FBI release more of its secret files about the gay movement. "The big question to me now," Thorstad said, ". . . is what exactly the policy of the FBI was toward all gay groups."

The GAA has compiled a list of thirty-two items, such as specific gay protests, and is demanding files on each from the government.

In addition, there is a particularly curious remark by the FBI that requires explanation. When FBI Director Clarence Kelley sent GAA the five pages of files, he concluded his letter:

"The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) referred one document to the FBI as a result of your request to the CIA. This document was reviewed and it has been determined that it is exempt from public disclosure. . . ."

Especially in light of their continuing battle for civil rights, gay activists have good reason to demand a full revelation of the government's files about antigay operations.

Paul Bernier of the Miami Victory Campaign (one of the coalitions fighting the right-wing assault led by Anita Bryant against gays) told the *Militant* that they have had no hint of such FBI disruption in Miami. "But it wouldn't surprise me if six months from now it comes out that our phones have been tapped by the FBI and we've been followed around," he added.

"Nothing that the FBI does would surprise me any longer."

Political rights supporters

Gay activists have endorsed the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and harassment. The socialists' \$40 million suit against the FBI, CIA, and other political police agencies has documented government Cointelpro programs, burglaries, and other crimes against democratic rights.

When the National Gay Task Force endorsed the SWP and YSA lawsuit, Jean O'Leary and Bruce Voeller, coexecutive directors of the NGTF, wrote:

"We at the National Gay Task Force, and gays everywhere, are particularly sensitive to the horrors of harassment and violence . . . both the orthodox physical sort so familiar to all and the subtler, quiet kind the U.S. Government has used against the lawful dissent of the Socialist Workers Party."

David Thorstad, homosexual activ-

ist and writer, endorsed the lawsuit "as an important contribution toward exposing the barbarism of the capitalist system and toward achieving wider elbow room for all those of us struggling for freedom and social change."

These activists join more than 400 prominent supporters of civil liberties who have also endorsed the lawsuit. The endorsers include Ralph Abernathy, David Dellinger, César Chávez, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, Kate Millett, and Victor Reuther, as well as organizations such as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and Operation PUSH.

Support for the lawsuit is being organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Endorsements and contributions can be sent to PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Palestinian prisoners fight for rights

Protest slow death in Ashkelon Prison

By David Frankel

ASHKELON PRISON, Israel—I was not surprised when Israeli authorities refused to let me visit Ashkelon Prison. The hunger strike carried out here by Palestinian political prisoners is something that the Zionist regime would rather see safely forgotten.

Almost all of the 386 prisoners who began the hunger strike on December 11 were serving life sentences for their activities in the Palestinian liberation movement. There is no provision for parole in the Israeli penal system, but the vindictiveness of the authorities did not stop with the sentences handed out against those Palestinians guilty of defying the Israeli state. Among the conditions that led to the strike were the following:

- Arab prisoners at Ashkelon were provided with neither beds nor mattresses. They were required to sleep on the concrete floors of their cells.
- Arab prisoners were locked in their cells for twenty-three hours a day, since they refused to sew camouflage nets for the Israeli army.
- Twenty to thirty prisoners were jammed into each cell, where they were forced to eat, sleep, and defecate. Lack of ventilation made the stench overpowering, and requests for a proper dining room and recreation hall were turned down.
- Food fed to the prisoners consisted mostly of fat, potatoes, and overboiled beans. In addition to the nutritional inadequacy of this diet, it aggravated the ulcers that many prisoners suffer from. Even this poor food was served in such small quantities that the prisoners complained of constant hunger.
- Arab prisoners were not permitted to receive any political literature, nor any books on economics and sociology, despite an order of the Israeli Supreme Court that they could receive any book sold in the country.
- Arab prisoners in Ashkelon were not permitted to register for correspondence courses, although all other prisoners in Israel were allowed to register for such courses.
- The quality of medical care was such that the prison doctor would see

some fifty patients in a fifteen-minute period. A dentist who visited the prison infrequently was only willing to pull teeth.

One of the central demands of the strikers was that they be granted treatment equal to that received by Jewish criminal prisoners.

A 'concession' is offered

After forty-five days the Ashkelon prisoners stopped their hunger strike because they had been assured that Chaim Levi, the chief of the Israeli prison service, would meet with them and consider their demands sympathetically. When Levi finally did visit Ashkelon prison, he announced a concession: henceforth, almonds and combs would be added to the list of products prisoners are allowed to buy at the canteen!

The strike, which had been discontinued on January 25, was resumed by 255 prisoners on February 24. The determination of the prisoners was certainly understandable. As one of them explained to defense lawyer Lea Tsemel:

"I was a frogman for many years. Most of the time I was under water and in hard training, and I was healthy. Six months in Ashkelon jail made me a sick and weak person suffering from pains all over my body.

"Had I known in advance what the Israeli jail would be like, I would not have let myself be arrested. I would have fought to the death when they came to capture me, since death is better than life in Ashkelon jail."

Tsemel, who represents several of the hunger strikers, made a similar point to me. "They say that they don't have the death penalty in Israel, but it's a lie. They have it, only step by step—slowly."

The official runaround

Most of the prisoners ended their second hunger strike on March 15 and 16 after they were promised a number of substantial concessions. However, since the hunger strikers were transferred to different prisons during the strike as a means of isolating them, they were unable to coordinate their activity. Four strike leaders who had

been transferred to Ramle Prison ended their fast only on April 8, after I had already arrived in Israel.

I went to Ramle Prison on April 18 and asked to be allowed inside the jail. The officer in charge refused to allow me in and refused to answer any questions about the situation inside the prison. I was warned not to take any pictures.

The week before I had addressed a formal letter to Chaim Levi asking to interview the warden of Ashkelon Prison or one of his deputies, as well as some of the prisoners involved in the hunger strike. But when I called at the prison administration building on Histadrut Street in Jerusalem, I was told that my letter had never been received.

This seemed to me to be unlikely, since I had hand-delivered the letter. When I pointed this out, I was informed that the prison administration could not arrange such an interview anyway—or even a visit to the prison—unless I first received approval from the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Police.

At that point, in view of the fact that I only had one month to spend in the country, I decided to take the hint.

Solidarity actions

If the Israeli authorities were reluctant to talk about the events in Ashkelon, however, there were others who were more willing. Muhamad Na'amneh, for example, a leader of the Arab Students Committee at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a member of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL—the Israeli section of the Fourth International), described some of the actions carried out by the students in solidarity with the Ashkelon strike.

The most important action was a hunger strike by about 300 students that was widely reported both inside Israel and abroad. As a result of that three-day hunger strike, which took place from February 27 to March 1, Muhamad faces disciplinary charges brought by the university, as do Atif Tannous and Mahmoud Muhareb, two other members of the Arab Students Committee.

Muhamad explained that "in May 1976, when the Arab students demonstrated against the brutality of the Zionist occupation in the conquered territories, the university administration barred political activities on the campus.

"The university administration claimed that our hunger strike was a political act, and that it was therefore against the regulations.

"And it *was* a political act," Muhamad stressed. "We consider the Palestinian political prisoners in the Zionist prisons to be freedom fighters who paid the price of their freedom for the just cause of our people."

During the course of the strike the Arab Students Committee gathered some 1,500 signatures from both Arab and Jewish students at the Hebrew University in support of the prisoners in Ashkelon.

Meetings in support of the Ashkelon hunger strikers took place elsewhere in Jerusalem, in Haifa, in Tel Aviv, and outside the prison itself. Meetings were also organized in Arab villages such as Um el-Fa'hem and Kabul.

Solidarity protests also took place in the occupied West Bank, especially in the form of hunger strikes and work strikes in the prisons. In East Jerusalem several demonstrations organized by high school students were put down, and the entire town of Bir Zeit was occupied by Israeli Border Guards after the students in the university there went on strike.

Israeli 'democracy'

But the most severe repression came in the twin West Bank towns of Ramallah and el-Bireh, a district containing about 130,000 persons. On March 5 a meeting in solidarity with the Ashkelon strike was held in the courtyard of el-Hashimaya boys high school in el-Bireh. Two days later, the school was surrounded by Israeli armored personnel carriers and Border Guards. About 200 students were systematically beaten, some of them so severely that they required hospitalization.

A general strike in the towns of Ramallah, el-Bireh, and Deir-Dabuan was held on March 8 to protest the assault. However, another demonstration in solidarity with the Ashkelon strikers was attacked with even greater brutality the following day. Eighteen gravely wounded students from the Men's Teachers Training Center near Ramallah were sent to the Augusta-Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem, and about twenty wounded students were held in Ramallah jail.

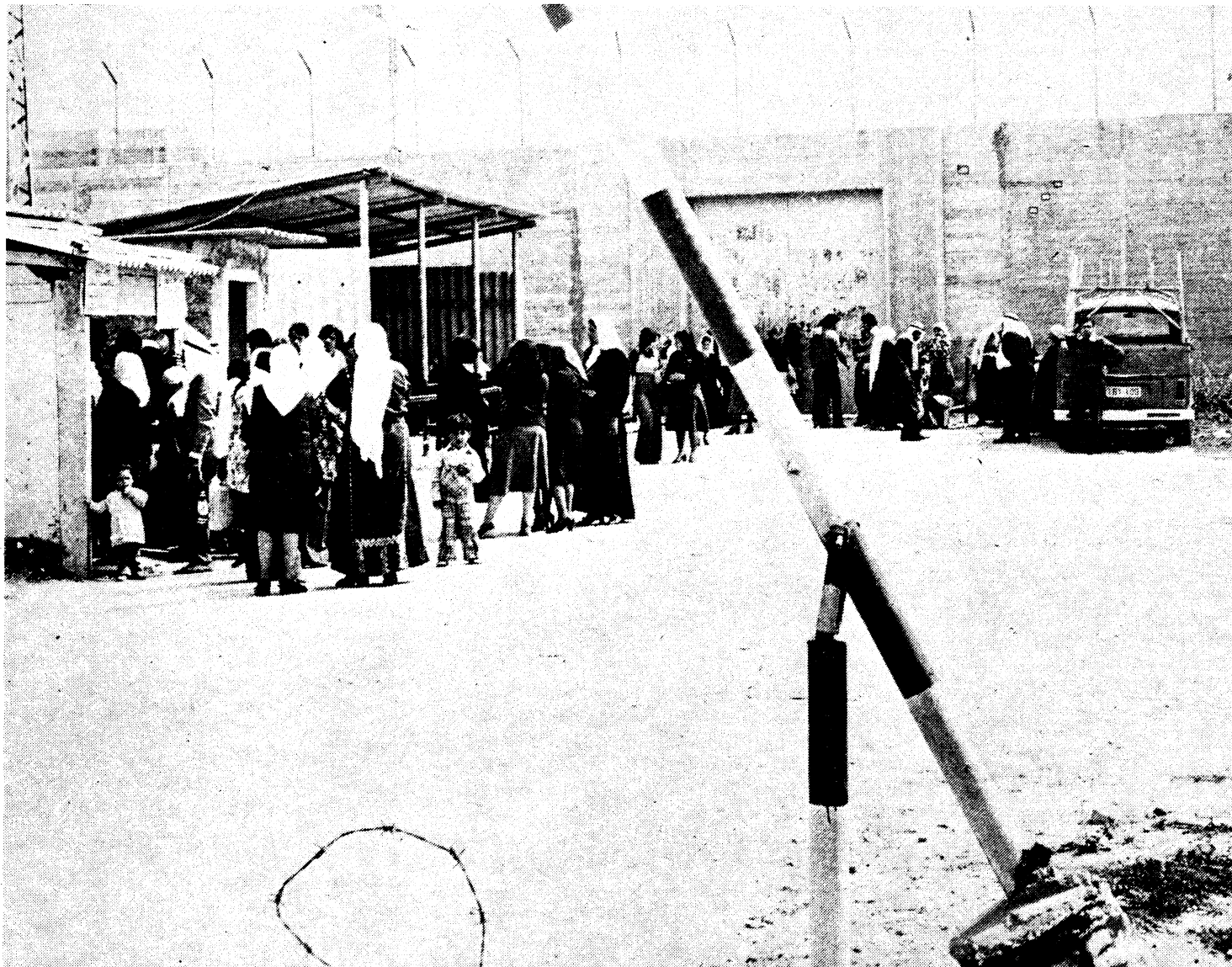
Eytan Grosfeld, who visited some of the wounded students in order to gather factual material on the occupation regime, reported that special efforts were made to break the teeth of the students and the bones in their hands.

About a month later I talked to Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah. "When we hear from Carter about human rights," he said, "we ask what kind of human rights is he talking about for us?"

A partial victory

The determination of the striking prisoners and the response to their struggle among the Palestinian masses resulted in the Israeli authorities promising a number of reforms if the prisoners would end their strike.

According to Lea Tsemel, the prisoners were promised that in the future they will be able to see an Arab doctor within a week of such a request; that they will be allowed to receive one Hebrew newspaper and all books published in Israel except for those considered political; that they will be given mattresses to sleep on and that their food will be improved; and that



Militant/David Frankel

Families trying to visit relatives in Ramle Prison. Israeli regime prefers to keep situation in its prisons secret.

Medicaid cut used to attack New York hospital workers

By Vangie Eidsvik

NEW YORK—Gov. Hugh Carey and the New York State legislature have set in motion a major attack on health care and health-care workers.

The state plans at least a 10 percent cut in reimbursement rates for Medicaid, at a time when hospital costs have risen at five times the general rate of inflation. Reduction in Medicaid funds has never happened before in any state.

These cuts are not aimed at the hospitals, administrators, or those

Vangie Eidsvik is a member of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and a union delegate from Beth Israel Medical Center.

doctors who are making fantastic profits out of Medicaid. The victims will be the old, the poor, the disadvantaged—all those who are dependent on Medicaid—along with underpaid hospital workers.

The private hospitals in New York see this cutback as an opportunity for launching another attack on District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

A majority of those represented by District 1199 are Black, Puerto Rican, and female.

Beth Israel Medical Center has been chosen as a testing ground to see how far the cuts and layoffs can be pushed against all 1199 members.

On April 6 the general director of Beth Israel, Dr. Ray Trussell, issued a memorandum to all department heads instructing them to make immediate plans for a 10 percent cut in annual salaries so that the center could

remain "financially viable."

The first round of cuts was announced the week of April 18 with forty positions in the outpatient department slated to be cut.

Beth Israel's personnel director, James Stark, warned, "You are going to see vast cuts, and you're going to see them fast."

Since the partial closing of Gouverneur Hospital last year, Beth Israel has become the only major hospital serving the Black, Puerto Rican, and poor residents of the Lower East Side community.

When the cuts were first announced, an emergency meeting of union delegates was called. We estimated that more than 300 of our co-workers could be affected by the layoffs at Beth Israel.

We had little time to work out a strategy of action, but several things rang out loud and clear. The unanimous sentiment of the thirty-five delegates at that meeting was "No layoffs, no attack on health care."

Believing that the hospital mismanages its finances and that its budget does not put a priority on providing quality health care, but on making money, we also demanded that management open their books for union inspection.

Delegates and rank-and-file members have discussed the possibility of setting up an action committee to organize publicity and mobilize the community and other unions against the health-care cuts.

The union leadership, however, has failed to project any plan of action. There has been little opportunity for proposals such as the action committee to be discussed.

The union called a meeting April 26, which was attended by more than 300 members. But no action proposals were made and no democratic discussion was allowed.

The union leadership is refusing to face the fact that the Democratic party politicians it has always supported and relied upon are not going to step in and save New York health care.

The Democrats and Republicans are the ones responsible for these cuts. These parties represent the interests of management and big business.

Instead of relying on the Democratic and Republican politicians, the union should look to the strength of the union membership and its allies in the Lower East Side community, who have the most to lose from reduced health care.

We cannot win this fight alone. We must reach out to our potential allies: other workers within the hospital; nurses organized in the Nurses Rights Organization; the communities that depend on services from Beth Israel; the many victims of cuts in education, day care, and welfare; and other unions facing similar attacks.

N.Y. forum

A public forum entitled "Health Care Cuts and Layoffs in the Lower East Side—What Can We Do?" will be held Thursday, June 2, 7:30 p.m., at St. Marks Church, Tenth Street and Second Avenue. Vangie Eidsvik will be a speaker. The event is sponsored by the Militant Forum. Contribution \$1.50.

they will be given some chance of enrolling in correspondence courses.

Several other concessions were also promised. The fact that such reforms have been offered is a significant victory in itself, and an indirect admission by the Zionist regime of the real conditions in Ashkelon Prison.

However, Tsemel stressed, "the main demand was and still is that the overcrowding in the cells be eased and that the prisoners not be locked up in their cells for twenty-three hours a day. These demands have not been won."



Militant/David Frankel

Lea Tsemel, a thirty-one-year-old lawyer and member of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, is defending several of the hunger strikers at Ashkelon Prison.

Moreover, the demand for equal treatment of Arab and Jewish prisoners has not been won either. Arab prisoners, Tsemel said, "still get only one visit a month, while Jews are allowed two visits a month. The Arabs get forty [Israeli] lira a month, while the Jews get seventy lira a month [to spend in the canteen]. Also, most of the Jewish prisoners sleep on beds—not just the mattresses that are promised the Arabs. Finally, Jews get more than one Hebrew newspaper."

Even the concessions promised by the regime remain nothing more than promises that can be withdrawn at any time and under any pretext. In fact, when I visited the family of one of the hunger strikers in the Gaza Strip on April 22, I was informed that some of the prisoners were still on strike. There was no way to check the report, but one thing is certain: the struggle in Ashkelon Prison is far from over.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism

By Peter Seidman

An answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's attacks on left opponents of Zionism, including a chapter on the little-known record of the U.S. government in closing the door to Jewish refugees from Nazi terror. 32 pp., 60 cents

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?

By Maxime Rodinson

120 pp., paper \$1.75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.

N.M. fight for collective bargaining

By Barry David

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—"Bury Right to Work, Pass Collective Bargaining."

That was the slogan carried by New Mexico public employees—members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)—as they rallied at the state capitol in Santa Fe May 7.

Several workers carrying a coffin to dramatize their demand led the demonstration. The 350 government workers came from every corner of New Mexico.

Earlier that day, hundreds of cars departed in caravans from Albuquerque, Las Cruces, Raton, and several other New Mexico cities.

At the departure point in Albuquerque, AFSCME Council 18 Director Roy Gonzales explained the purpose of the rally:

"Public employees in New Mexico are treated like second-class citizens. We are paid less than government workers in almost any other part of the country. And we don't even have the legal right to bargain collectively. That's why we are demanding that the legislature pass the Public Employees Collective Bargaining Bill. As things stand now, it's a regular 'right to work' situation for public employees."

"Right to work" has been a major issue in New Mexico in recent months. Right-wing, antilabor forces have been mobilizing to pass "right to work" legislation outlawing the union shop and crippling union power on the job.

The state legislature, at its last session, narrowly defeated the "right to work" bill. At the same time, the legislature indefinitely tabled collective bargaining for public employees.

As things stand now, only Albuquerque city workers have the right to collective bargaining under a city ordinance. A statewide collective bar-

gaining bill would give this right to all state, county, and municipal workers.

Gonzales told the crowd, "The politicians have ignored us. They should be out speaking for you but they are not here."

He said AFSCME had asked Democratic Gov. Jerry Apodaca to issue a proclamation declaring May 7 "Public Employees Day" along with an execu-

tive order to the legislature calling for passage of the collective bargaining bill.

"The governor has issued the proclamation," said Gonzales. "But he has ignored our request for an executive order." Apodaca, explained Gonzales, is one of those "Democrats who hide behind the fact they are Democrats" to ignore the demands of the labor movement.

Illinois workers demand raise



SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—More than 4,000 state employees represented by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) rallied here May 4 to protest the state's refusal to grant a pay raise.

Most employees have not had a wage increase since 1974. The state administration insists there will be no money available for raises until July 1978.

Democratic State Rep. Oral Jacobs

enraged the crowd when he said he was confident the legislature would authorize a 5 percent increase. He was booed off the platform by unionists who have seen inflation reduce their real wages by more than 20 percent.

The protesters demanded that Republican Gov. James Thompson come out of his office and explain his refusal to grant a pay raise. Thompson failed to appear.

Anti-import drive: employer hoax

By Frank Lovell

(Second of two parts)

While the clothing and textile unions rallied their members for import curbs and higher prices on April 13, top union officials were meeting with Carter and his advisers in the White House.

AFL-CIO President George Meany said the meeting was calm.

An unnamed government official said that "nothing much happened. The union guys made their pitch. The president listened. There were no promises."

"The union guys" in this instance were Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Their pitch is for jobs. They claim that over the past ten years 144,000 jobs have been lost because of imports. Government support for private industry is necessary, they say, because "one percent of unemployment costs our government \$20 billion that taxpayers must pay."

They do not see beyond their immediate contractual relations with the employers in the textile industry. If the industry is protected, more workers will be employed. If more workers are employed, the union will have more members and collect more dues. This will give these union officials more prestige and probably higher salaries.

As for the big unorganized textile mills in the South—virtually the whole of U.S. textile manufacturing—perhaps these giant corporations will come to recognize the valuable services of the unions. Perhaps they will enter into collective bargaining relations that will provide union recognition and checkoff of union dues—even if wages must necessarily remain low because they have always been low.

Business unionism

This is the outlook of most top union officials regardless of what union or industry they are in. Their entire experience has conditioned them to believe that the welfare of the union depends upon the welfare of the employers—not the workers.

This is business unionism. If the industry prospers, the union will prosper.

Shoe and textile are not the only industries that are going to Washington these days, hat in hand, asking for protection against foreign competition. The television industry, steel, even auto are among those that have put in bids for help.

The auto industry may have withdrawn with the upswing in production because U.S. cars compete successfully in the world market. But the steel industry is stepping up its demands for lower quotas in imported specialty steel, hoping thereby to protect rising U.S. market prices.

Zenith Corporation has won a favorable ruling in the U.S. customs court that gives it tariff protection against the import of Japanese electronics. This ruling, if allowed to stand, will affect 60 to 70 percent of all products imported into the United States, and that in turn will affect U.S. exports to other countries.

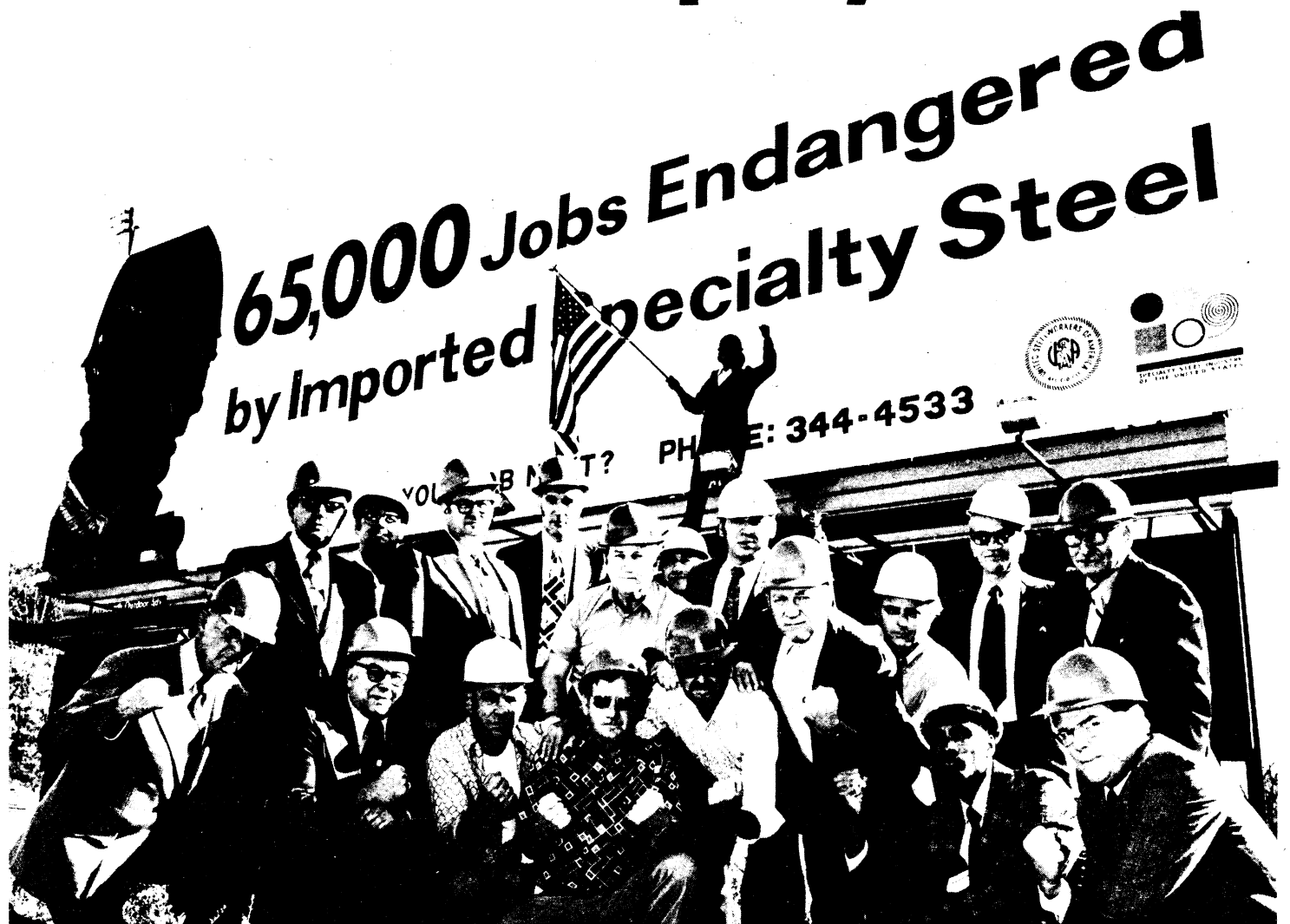
Like mockingbirds

In all those industries that are crying for protection, the exact same cry is echoed by the union bureaucrats. They come on like mockingbirds.

Top officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers have been squawking for years about the Japanese and are cheering Zenith's victory.

President-elect Lloyd McBride of the United Steelworkers sounds like the president of U.S. Steel on foreign imports, as on most other subjects.

When General Motors is for open borders and free trade, United Auto



Steel union bureaucrats strike 'militant' pose. Billboard is joint project of union and steel industry.

Workers President Leonard Woodcock speaks confidently about "the open market." But when GM asked for quotas on small car imports he talked about low wages in foreign countries and lost jobs here.

The union bureaucrats are so subservient that they sometimes forget about their own image and reveal their total disregard for the interests of the working class. Lane Kirkland, who is expected to succeed Meany as AFL-CIO president, rails against "the emerging principle of consumer sovereignty as it affects trade issues—that is, the proposition that the consumer has an inalienable, top-priority right to four-dollar Korean shoes, regardless of the conditions under which they are made; the human, social, and economic cost of lost American jobs, and of who really gets the four dollars."

Kirkland's insight is blind to the consumer needs of U.S. workers and other poor people here.

Trade war?

It remains to be seen whether the employing class in this country will be dragged along into a trade war. Already Britain restricts Japanese TV imports. The French have banned cheap Italian wine. Sweden prohibits sale of all foreign shoes.

This is far from a crippling international trade war, but it is the sign of tension in the world capitalist system that is once again glutted with an overproduction of commodities and gasping for markets for profitable investment of surplus capital.

Whatever course the employing class in any of the industrial countries sets for itself in search of a solution to its trade problems, the workers and their organizations have nothing to gain from trailing along behind like trained servants.

Since early in the nineteenth century a constant struggle for control of the world market has been one of the basic features of capitalist production and exchange.

In this struggle the political and military influence of national governments has served to aid home industry. Most governments have imposed tariffs on foreign goods that would otherwise sell below the domestic market price, thus raising consumer prices to a profitable level for domestic producers.

This system of protectionism seemed to work well for weak industries in some countries, but it hampers the international exchange of commodities.

Those countries that hold an overall advantage in the world market always seek to break down the trade barriers. When England in 1830 was the "workshop of the world" the industrialists of that country endorsed free trade and undertook to repeal the Corn Laws, which protected British agriculture against cheap grain imports from America.

U.S. domination

When U.S. industry later reached a peak of efficiency surpassing all others, the U.S. government gradually cast aside its protectionist policy in favor of free trade.

After World War II the United States held such economic and military supremacy in the capitalist world that succeeding administrations from Truman to Nixon could dictate the terms of international trade—to the great advantage of U.S. capital and the rapid spread of U.S. corporate investment to all parts of the world.

The basic covenant governing international trade—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—was drafted in Washington. But the world crisis of capitalist production that erupted in 1969 threatens this imposed system of trade relations. Developing industry throughout the world comes in conflict with U.S. production. The old system of protectionism appears again as the crisis of overproduction deepens.

There are new features in this cycle. But one thing remains constant. The employing class—everywhere and always, whether embarked on a policy of free trade or protectionism—seeks to convince the workers that whatever the employers and their government are doing is in the best and everlasting interest of the working class.

The long history and bitter experience of the working class in all countries has one fundamental lesson that applies today. In matters of international trade policy—as in all others—the capitalist owners of industry and the industrial workers have nothing in common.

Frederick Engels, the famed co-worker of Karl Marx, wrote in 1881

about American food and the land question in England. He explained in a series of articles on free trade that repeal of the protectionist Corn Laws was not intended to reduce the price of bread, as claimed by the industrialists, but was instead a scheme on their part to lower wages.

This did not mean that Engels was therefore in support of the Corn Laws and costly bread. So the question remained as to the fate of English farming, which faced ruin from American competition.

"Well, and the upshot of all this?"

"The upshot," said Engels, "will and must be that it will force upon us the nationalisation of the land and its cultivation by co-operative societies under national control. Then, and then alone, it will again pay both the cultivators and the nation to work it, whatever the price of American or any other corn and meat may be. And if the landlords in the meantime, as they seem to be half inclined to do, actually do go to America, we wish them a pleasant journey."

This applies today to the U.S. shoe, textile, electronics, steel, and all other industries that claim they are threatened by foreign competition and are forced to close shop for lack of profits.

None of them face ruin. The workers whose jobs the employers pretend to worry about can manage these industries far better than they are managed now.

The nationalized factories under workers control can turn out better products for lower prices. And there will be no lack of a market for all that can be produced, because workers' families and other poor people in this country are badly in need of these consumer goods.

This is the way to finally end unemployment, and to bring industry to its full productive capacity for the benefit of all who produce.

And after that, if the present owners choose to follow their investments to such places as Taiwan or South Korea, the American workers should speed them on their journey.

And it wouldn't be a bad idea to let their political servitors in the Democratic and Republican parties, and their labor lieutenants, go along with them to carry their baggage and perform the other duties they are trained for.

The government-management assault on transit workers

By Steve Beumer

DETROIT—The urban crisis has affected public workers in many ways. The most devastating is the loss of job security.

Not too many years ago it was unthinkable that public services would be cut and city jobs eliminated. Now, temporary and permanent layoffs have become standard practice.

In the transit industry, a set of legally established measures protecting job security exists. These are everywhere under fierce attack by government officials and transit management, represented by the American Public Transit Association.

These attacks were initiated by former Secretary of Transportation William Coleman. Coleman took aim at Section 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1964.

Section 13(c) requires that before any federal money may be granted for a project by the Urban Mass Transit Administration (UMTA), the secretary

of labor must certify that fair and equitable arrangements have been made to protect the rights of employees affected by the UMTA grant.

Proposed changes

In an eight-page memo to former President Ford last April, Coleman laid out what he considered to be the "problems" with 13(c) and his proposals for correcting them. These included:

- Large sections of the transit industry now covered by 13(c) should be exempted from its provisions.

- The burden of proof in determining whether UMTA grants will have an adverse affect on labor should be shifted from management to the unions.

- In a section entitled "Stifling Innovation" Coleman proposes an antiunion drive under the guise of expanding so-called paratransit—shared-ride taxis, vanpools, jitneys, subscription buses—implemented through subcontracting. Already this is being used as a battering ram against the unions.

These proposals were presented to management at the annual meeting of the American Public Transit Association held last October. If enacted they would be a devastating blow to all municipal transit workers.

Protective legislation

Protective legislation in the transit industry has come through a long process of development. It began when government participation in the transit industry became a significant

factor with the subsidization of private commuter rail systems.

In case after case this intervention resulted in cutbacks in service through consolidation and reorganization. For transit workers this meant the loss of jobs.

The railway unions began to advocate job protection when the federal government was financially involved. The result of these demands was Section 5(2)(f) of the Interstate Commerce Act. It provided a four-year period that protected the worker against wage loss, compensation for moving when transferred, and various other minor provisions.

These provisions were upgraded in 1971 as a result of the creation of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Railpax).

These legislative measures did little more than supplement unemployment compensation and provide the possibility for retraining and placement in another job. While this was a small step forward for railroad workers in the transit industry, the only overall protection for transit workers was Section 13(c).

Federal subsidies

The passage of the Mass Transit Act of 1974 made billions of dollars of federal subsidies available to transit systems for the first time.

The government gave transit systems money to make up the difference between their costs and revenues. Virtually every system in the major urban centers receives some subsidy from the federal government.

Many formerly private systems used federal money to convert to public transit.

Detroit, for example, is considering incorporating its municipal system into the Southeastern Michigan Transit Authority, which controls all other transportation, including commuter rail service, in the metropolitan area.

This type of consolidation, a common occurrence in large metropolitan areas, requires a lot of federal UMTA money to complete. Under Coleman's proposed guidelines for Section 13(c) all of these projects will hurt transit workers.

Expanding the attack

Not satisfied with eliminating job security legislation, government and management have also begun a campaign directly attacking the living standards of transit workers.

Also present at last year's annual meeting of the American Public Transit Association, was UMTA Administrator Robert Patricelli who called upon transit management to improve productivity by holding down transit employees' wages.

"Wages will have to be held to a slower rate of escalation," Patricelli said. "If New York and a number of other cities can do that by taking tougher stands on wage settlements, more can follow. UMTA will do what it can to help. But most of the efforts here . . . must come from within the industry."

What is needed to meet this attack is a united effort of both the Amalgamated

Continued on page 30

Steve Beumer is a Detroit bus driver and a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26. Beumer is currently a candidate for recording secretary of his local. In 1976 he was the Socialist Workers party candidate for Region Seven School Board and was endorsed by Local 26.



ConRail: Con job on rail workers

By Ed Heisler

The Consolidated Rail Corporation, ConRail, is the biggest railroad company in the United States. It was created by an act of Congress on April 6, 1976, as a private profit-making corporation.

Six major railroads claiming bankruptcy, including the scandal-ridden Penn Central, were merged to form ConRail.

Congress voted to spend \$2.1 billion of taxpayers' money to buy "stocks" in this new company. This handout was to be used for major track rebuilding and for the purchase of new equipment. ConRail doesn't have to pay any of this money back in interest or dividends in its initial years.

The legislation permits ConRail to eliminate "unprofitable" freight lines—thereby denying service to small shippers, jacking up the prices of consumer goods, and abolishing jobs of railroad workers.

On April 5, 1976, the day before they were to officially come into existence, the ConRail lines ran a full-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal* announcing their impending good fortune, financed out of our tax dollars.

The newspaper ad boasted that rail union officials "want ConRail to succeed" and "have already agreed to more flexibility in assigning employees."

The first fruits of this "flexibility" by the union brass are now coming in. Twelve hundred locomotive mechanics were given pink slips at the end of March. They were "assigned" to the unemployment lines.

When the shop-craft workers threatened to strike in opposition to the mass layoffs, a federal court judge quickly issued a court order outlawing strike action.



Railroad workers in Philadelphia protest mass layoffs

In April ConRail dealt a heavy blow against members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. The BMW is a union representing the workers who are responsible for building and maintaining the railroad tracks.

The railroad forced some track gangs to work a seven-day, eighty-hour workweek at straight-time pay. Now that's what you call "flexibility in assigning employees!"

After busting their butts for eighty hours the track workers are then given a week off—without pay—to recover. The eighty-hour week has allowed ConRail to cut overtime pay and the work force in order to cut labor costs and increase their profits. Hundreds of track workers have been laid off.

Harold Crotty, president of the BMW and W.E. LaRue, the union's general chairperson in the Pennsylvania

Federation, made an agreement with ConRail accepting the eighty-hour workweek behind the backs of union members. The members were not consulted and were not permitted to vote on this union agreement.

The April 1977 issue of the BMW magazine, *Railway Journal*, justifies this love affair between the union brass and the railroads. It claims that "the partnership between America's union members and the fine companies and industries they work within . . . insures fair wages, good working conditions and a high standard of living for millions of citizens."

The BMW and other AFL-CIO unions went all out with this partnership by sponsoring a "Union-Industries Show" in Kansas City, Missouri, on May 6-11.

The BMW *Railway Journal* ran a full-page plug on the show, encourag-

ing people to attend because it offers "a unique opportunity for the consumer to see good labor/management relations in action . . . a graphic example of how this nation's free trade unions and its great corporations work together to make a great America greater."

The ad ends with the slogan "Progress through Cooperation."

Railroad workers are having big doubts about making any progress through cooperation with the bosses.

This policy of the union bureaucrats has led to job cuts, speedup, unsafe working conditions, and longer hours of work.

The shop-craft and track workers are the main targets of these attacks now, but other railroad workers are next.

ConRail supervisors are telling track workers that their next target is members of the United Transportation Union. The UTU is the biggest union on ConRail, representing tens of thousands of men and women who work on the trains.

On May 2 laidoff track workers picketed the ConRail corporate headquarters in Philadelphia to protest the layoffs. Many track workers were off work sick the same day. They caught a case of "track worker's flu."

The threatened strike by shop-craft workers and the track workers' protests demonstrate that railroad workers want to fight back to defend their jobs and working conditions.

Some railroad workers are becoming conscious of the need to build a railroad workers fight back movement that can effectively challenge the class-collaborationist policies of the union officialdom.

Such a movement will surely emerge as these assaults intensify. The union bureaucrats and railroads are worried about this prospect.

Figuring out the FBI

The Lawless State: The Crimes of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies by Morton H. Halperin, Jerry J. Berman, Robert L. Borosage, and Christine M. Marwick. Penguin Books, 1976. \$2.95 paper.

The American Police State: The Government Against the People by David Wise. Random House, 1976. \$12.95.

The Director: An Oral Biography of J. Edgar Hoover by Ovid Demaris. Harper's Magazine Press, 1975. \$10.95.

Writing books about the FBI and government spying has become almost as popular as making disaster movies.

And there's no end in sight.

As FBI agents and officials get out of the

Books

gumshoe business, publishers will be busy for the next several years with breast-beating confessions, self-justification, and inside stories.

In my opinion, four books out of the recent crop are worth reading. One is Nelson Blackstock's *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*—a case study of the FBI's Cointelpro attacks on the Socialist Workers party (reviewed in the June 11, 1976, issue of the *Militant*).

The other three, listed above, all attempt to grapple with the evolution and significance of government attacks on democratic rights.

The Lawless State was put together by the Center for National Security Studies, a liberal think tank for lobbying and education on the so-called intelligence community. The book provides a good short course in the revelations about government spying for those who have not followed the congressional hearings and newspaper exposés closely over the last three years.

Partly because the book tries to cover all U.S. government spying in only 300 pages, it is unfortunately marred by gaps and inaccuracies. Perhaps most serious is its statement that "the CIA is not now conducting a massive surveillance program directed at lawful political activity."

In fact, documents produced for the SWP lawsuit against the government prove that the CIA does spy on American socialists who travel abroad and on the legal activities of socialists in other countries.

In another chapter the authors say, "FBI informers in the Socialist Workers party managed not only to infiltrate the tiny organization but in many instances to achieve high positions." Actually, the FBI claims that from at least 1960 to 1976 it was not able to place one single informer on the national leadership bodies of the SWP.

On the other hand, *The Lawless State* says more about the FBI's murderous vendetta against the Black Panther party than either the Wise or Demaris book, and it includes some important facts on the origins of the massive growth of FBI spying in the pre-World War II era.

David Wise's *The American Police State* is the best of the three books. Wise has written several books on government spying. *The Invisible Government*, his most famous, was the first book that the CIA openly tried to suppress.

Wise's basic thesis is that the United States government is more and more adopting the methods of police-state totalitarianism. His method of proving his point is what makes the book interesting.

Wise takes certain well-publicized examples of government crimes—such as the FBI campaign against Martin Luther King—and dissects them, using his own independent reporting and interviews. The result is a lively and fascinating look at the way the government really works.

For example, Wise gives us a look at the FBI's "eavesdropping center" in downtown Washington,



HOOVER & FDR: 'They understood and liked each other.'

partly through the words of an FBI agent who worked there:

"Each listening agent sat at 'an ordinary library table. At his command, he had a minimum of two tape recorders.' Before him was a switchboard 'quite similar to a telephone company switchboard. . . . When he saw the light come on . . . he could plug in his tape recorder, start it up, and record the entire conversation.' Or he might just listen in. The monitors were busy men . . . for there were many wiretaps going at once."

So many, in fact, that the phone company installed a permanent cable from its downtown switching center to the FBI's wiretap room.

If proof is needed that Hoover and Nixon were not Washington's only criminals, Wise has it. During the 1968 presidential campaign, one FBI official balked at calling phone company officials in the middle of the night to get Spiro Agnew's phone call records for Lyndon Johnson. "Do you know who I am?" Johnson roared, "I am the commander in chief of the United States."

Wise shows how easy it is for Democrats and Republicans to spy on each other. It doesn't take much to conclude that it must be even simpler to bug someone whom they both agree should be watched—a union leader, perhaps, or a socialist or a Black activist.

Wise concludes his section on wiretaps by warning that the FBI's special cable and switchboard might be "still" available, waiting to be hooked up again. The red lights may be blinking even now."

Wise is a careful reporter, and his book gives a clear impression of the vast scope of government spying operations.

The Director by Ovid Demaris is much more narrowly focused. But it gives an unprecedented picture of the people behind the American government's police institutions.

A skillful interviewer, Demaris put together "an oral biography" of J. Edgar Hoover by talking to people who worked with the director. Hoover emerges from the book as a maniac—a vicious, scheming dictator surrounded by sycophants and cunning politicians who used his insanity for their own ends, at the same time that they feared his power.

While I think Demaris tends to underestimate the degree to which Hoover was tolerated and encouraged by his superiors, the book does show how a skillful lunatic can use the bureaucratic back alleys of a secret police apparatus to accumulate personal power.

The Demaris book helps explain how the degeneration of democratic institutions can acquire a momentum of its own, once brought to a certain point by the capitalist rulers and their political servants.

Demaris's interviewees tell stories that belong in the setting of some Byzantine court. A web of Texas oilmen, financial favors, and personal vendettas spreads out from Hoover, whose flunkies organized expressions of fanatical adulation from Lawrence Welk, Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., and others.

At one point William C. Sullivan, a former high FBI official, tells Demaris how Hoover used "juicy" information. "If it pertained to government officials, Hoover would then pass it around to the President, the Cabinet, the Attorney General—he loved to pass on this sexy stuff."

Of course, Hoover loved to pass this "stuff" on to the official involved—just so that person would know the information was safe as long as J. Edgar Hoover was his friend. You can almost see former U.S. Rep. Emanuel Celler sweating and running his finger around his collar as he tells Demaris that Hoover "had a dossier on every member of Congress and every member of the Senate."

Sullivan says of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, "He knew that Hoover disliked him, he knew that Hoover would trip him up, and quite frequently, yet when Christmas came around he'd send Hoover a fine Christmas gift. To me that's hypocritical."

Sullivan is not exactly the ideal person to throw the first stone at a hypocritical sinner. Yet, strangely enough, Sullivan's recollections are the basis of a great deal in both the Wise and Demaris books. Sullivan's own story is worth a word or two.

Sullivan was the highest ranking official in the Domestic Intelligence Division and for awhile the associate director of the FBI. An eager beaver with a special talent for stroking Hoover's ego, he devised the FBI's Cointelpro program against the SWP, engineered and led the FBI campaign against

Martin Luther King, and—as Hoover aged—became the central figure gearing up the FBI to attack the growing antiwar and Black movements.

In the late 1960s Sullivan developed very close relations with CIA officials and the Nixon administration. He conspired with them to design the disruption program known as the “Huston plan” and to win Hoover’s formal approval for increased FBI burglaries, mail-openings, and other crimes.

In the struggle that followed, Hoover forced the ambitious Sullivan out of the FBI.

Two years later, the Nixon tapes reveal, Sullivan went to John Dean with a proposal that he spill the dirt on “abuse” of the FBI by Democrats in an effort to get Nixon off the hook. But Nixon didn’t like the idea. “How bad would it hurt the country, John, to have the FBI so terribly discredited,” said Tricky Dick. Sullivan’s overture was rejected, and he lost his chance to become director.

Since that time Sullivan has been telling anyone who will listen his version of FBI crimes. He left the FBI in 1971, and—since the five-year statute of limitations for most federal crimes has expired—we’ll probably hear more from him in the future.

The problem with Sullivan’s version—which is reflected in both the Wise and Demaris books—is that he sees government spying as basically the product of unscrupulous government officials conspiring to achieve their own short-term political ends.

That is undoubtedly an element, but there is a great deal more. For example, David Wise refers to a 1940s meeting between Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt after Longshore Union leader Harry Bridges walked in on an FBI agent tapping his hotel phone. According to Attorney General Francis Biddle, who was present at the meeting, “FDR was delighted; and, with one of his great grins, intent on every word, slapped Hoover on the back when he had finished. . . . The two men liked and understood each other.”

The episode describes a key reality: Roosevelt liked spying on unions.

The whole buildup of the spy agencies grew from Roosevelt’s 1937 green light to Hoover in preparation for World War II. In 1936 Roosevelt told Hoover he wanted a “broad picture” of “the movement of the Communists and of Fascism in the United States.”

In 1940 he gave the FBI a specific order to use all forms of spying against “persons suspected of subversive activities.”

The growth in power of the FBI resulted from broad government policy, not the bureaucratic genius of Hoover. Each time the FBI and similar agencies have enjoyed a big spurt of growth, there has been a broad policy reason for it endorsed by both the big capitalist parties.

After World War II there was the task of driving radicals out of the unions and consolidating U.S. power in a new world situation. Then there was the rise of the civil rights movement, then the antiwar movement.

Behind it all is the underlying fear of the capitalist government for the power of American labor.

Lacking this perspective, Wise and Demaris both tend to slight some of the most significant aspects of FBI spying—including spying on labor—in favor of the obviously illegal incidents of capitalist politicians spying on journalists and on each other.

Demaris doesn’t really try to propose any remedies. He looks at Hoover like a bird watches a snake.

But Wise and the Center for National Security Studies both conclude their books with chapters attempting to answer the question of what can be done. What set of rules can enforce morality on the police of the capitalist state? These are the weakest sections of both books.

The only thing that can reverse the basic trend toward erosion of democratic rights is a government that doesn’t fear the Blacks, the women, and the unionists who are fighting for their rights. That will take a socialist government, quite a different thing from what these books show us exists in Washington now.

—Syd Stapleton

Syd Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment and disruption.

Alfonso Peralta Reyes

Mexican Trotskyist murdered

The following article is taken from the May 23 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

Alfonso Peralta Reyes, a thirty-eight-year-old member of the Political Bureau of the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [PRT—Revolutionary Workers party], was assassinated at 10:45 a.m. May 12 in Mexico City. He was a founding member of the Sindicato del Personal Académico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [SPAUNAM—Union of Academic Personnel of the Autonomous National University of Mexico], which has since become part of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la UNAM [STUNAM—Union of Workers of the UNAM], and a member of its General Representative Council.

Alfonso Peralta gave classes on history at the Azcapotzalco branch of the College of Sciences and Humanities. He was gunned down as he came out of a classroom there along with several students and comrades.

According to a report in the Mexican daily *Excelsior* May 13, witnesses to the crime said the killers were lying in ambush, waiting for Peralta to come out into the hallway.

Excelsior also reported that “beside the body was found a leaflet entitled ‘Madera.’ Its text said, ‘This is how political police who infiltrate the workers movement end up.’”

It is alleged the “Madera” is the organ of the “Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre” [September 23 Communist League].

In a display advertisement published in the May 13 *Excelsior*, the PRT declared: “On that basis and on the basis of earlier death threats directed at Comrade Peralta by that newspaper, there is in fact adequate reason to believe that this organization was the perpetrator of the crime. Such actions, totally alien to the tradition of the revolutionary workers movement, provide an important service to the real enemies of the left—the bourgeoisie and its state.”

The text continued: “That is why our party demands an immediate investigation of the murder, along with punishment for its perpetrators. Any delay in clearing up this murder by those in charge of carrying out the investigation will be the best proof that the murderers enjoy the complicity of this country’s police apparatus.”

In the same issue of *Excelsior* display advertisements appeared from STUNAM; from the Coordinator of the College of Sciences and Humanities, David Pantoja Morán; from the workers, teachers, and students of the College of Sciences and Humanities at Azcapotzalco; from the administration and professors of the College of Sciences and Humanities; and from the Mexican Communist party. They all protested the murder and demanded punishment of the assassins.

The funeral, held May 13, was converted into a demonstration of more than 1,000 persons. They formed a cortege, marching from the College of Sciences and Humanities at Azcapotzalco to the mausoleum where Peralta was buried. Since the majority of the schools are out on vacation, the number of persons was significant.

The murder of Comrade Peralta took place in the context of growing political violence in Mexico—the government’s offensive against the universities, especially the University of Oaxaca; the smashing of peasant struggles throughout the country by bringing in the army; and, most importantly, the government drive to break the workers movement by attacking trade unions that reject placing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers.

Within the workers movement, the university trade unions have been playing an increasingly important role. They have organized a series of mobilizations and struggles against President López Portillo’s austerity plans. Currently, the focus of the working-class struggle in Mexico is among the trade unions of university personnel and the telephone workers.

However, for the government the university trade unions are a special case, a bigger problem, since their leadership does not belong to the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional [PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party] and it is not made up of bureaucrats linked in one way or another to the government.

The leadership of the SPAUNAM consisted of activists and sympathizers of various left organiza-

tions. The leadership of the STEUNAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la UNAM—Union of Personnel of the UNAM] consisted of activists and sympathizers of the Communist party and other left groups.

Before the fusion of the two unions, the government tried to destroy SPAUNAM by means of the so-called teachers associations—organizations opposed to trade unions that challenged the union’s representative character. The government tried to force SPAUNAM to go out on strike under unfavorable conditions so that it could be smashed. But this effort did not get anywhere. Under such circumstances, of course, it would not be far-fetched to think that the government might resort to methods like intimidation and murder. The life of another Trotskyist, a member of STEUNAM’s General Representative Council, had already been threatened. His home was raided by the police.

With regard to the assassination of Comrade Peralta, the Political Bureau of the PRT blames the “Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre.” However, it is worth recalling what Marlise Simons wrote in the June 6, 1976, issue of the *Washington Post*:

... political analysts and journalists are questioning the authenticity of the league as a leftist guerrilla group and are strongly suggesting that its numerous dramatic actions stem from the growing hysteria and militancy among Mexico’s far right.

As early as 1973, during a conflict in Sinaloa, the “Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre” killed a leader that opposed their political line. On repeated occasions since that date, it has beaten up, threatened, and harassed those it describes as “reformists.”

The climate of increasing political violence in Mexico can also be seen among the ranks of the trade-union bureaucracy, where murder has been resorted to as a way of getting rid of problems. Although this is nothing new for the trade-union bureaucracy, it has been occurring on a bigger scale. For example, in March of this year Heriberto Kehoe Vincent, the general secretary of the Union of Oil Workers of the Mexican Republic—a union well known for its gangsterism—was killed.

In addition, López Portillo has taken a step that only adds ominous signs to the already tense situation—on March 18 the Mexican government reopened relations with the Spanish government for the first time in thirty-three years. Moreover, López Portillo had the nerve to name as ambassador former President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, perpetrator of the massacre of students in Tlatelolco Plaza October 2, 1968. It appears that López Portillo considered this a “subtle” way of telling all Mexicans that, if he feels it necessary, he is willing to resort to the methods of his predecessor.

In this context, the killing of a leading Trotskyist is a warning to everyone in Mexico who is fighting to improve the situation of the working masses. Alfonso Peralta was a target of the Mexican government, a government that likes to pose as “progressive.”

Message from SWP

The following message was sent by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party to the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores.

Dear Comrades,

Many of us in the Socialist Workers Party personally knew comrade Alfonso Peralta. He had won our admiration and respect for his dedication to the struggle against all forms of oppression and for a socialist world. He was a central leader of the Trotskyist movement in Mexico and worldwide, and a consistent fighter for the Mexican workers and peasants against their imperialist and domestic exploiters.

The cowards who murdered this class struggle fighter acted in the interests of those exploiters.

We pledge to redouble our efforts in solidarity with the struggle of comrade Peralta, which is also our struggle.

We are confident of final victory.

Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party

Calendar

BERKELEY, CALIF.

CHINA AFTER MAO. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

CLEVELAND

CHILD CARE IN CLEVELAND. Speaker: Lorraine Sockaci, member of NOW and SWP. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

LOS ANGELES

STONEWALL '77 CONFERENCE: WHAT IS THE IMPORTANCE OF GAY LIBERATION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE? Weekend June 10-12. Open workshops and panel presentations. Housing and child care provided. Sponsored by the Lavender and Red Union, a communist organization. \$5 registration fee. Send for information: P.O. Box 3505, Hollywood, Calif. 90028, or call (213) 663-7462.

MIAMI

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET BLOC. Speaker: Bob Angles, SWP. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 271-2241.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES. Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

SOWETO UPRISING. A series of 160 photographs of the June 1976 protests by Black students and workers in Soweto, South Africa. Mon., May 16, through Thurs., May 26. Noon to 8 p.m. weekdays, noon to 4 p.m. Sat. and Sun. 2 W. 64th St. Admission is free. Ausp: New York Society for Ethical Culture. For more information call (212) 874-5200.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LAVENDER & RED UNION: FROM THE GAY LEFT TO TROTSKYISM. Talk by Mike Weinstein and Gene Shofner, founding members of this Los Angeles group. Fri., May 27, at the School for Marxist Education, 186 W. 4th St., 7th floor, 8 p.m. Admission: \$2.

NEW YORK: THE BRONX

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Thursdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

MALCOLM X'S VIEWS ON BLACK SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, SWP 1977 candidate for mayor of Oakland; representative of African Liberation Day. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. Preforum dinner at 6 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHILADELPHIA: WEST PHILADELPHIA

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Ben Bailey, SWP; Om Di Ci Ci, Black Independent Political party. Also the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza* will be shown. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 218 S. 45th St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451.

RICHMOND, VA.

REPORT FROM THE NOW CONFERENCE. Speakers: Priscilla Schenk, SWP; chairperson, NOW Abortion Task Force; delegate to NOW

convention. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

SEATTLE

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Margaret Trowe, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle; Toby Emmerich, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., May 21. Social hour: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Polish Hall, 1714 18th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Seattle Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (206) 524-6670 or 329-7404.

CARTER'S ENERGY WAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW.

Speaker: Louise Armstrong, SWP. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TACOMA

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. *Freedom Struggle in South Africa.* Speaker: Soondra Appavoo, South African student. Sat., May 28, 1:30 p.m. *Why Black Women Belong in the Women's Movement.* Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP 1976 vice-presidential candidate. Tacoma Community College, Rm. 1, Bldg. 19. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and YSA. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: David Zilly, SWP candidate for mayor of Tacoma; Willie Mae Reid, SWP 1976 vice-presidential candidate. Sat., May 28, Social hour: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Unitarian Church 5502 S. 12th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and YSA. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

TOLEDO

RACISM IN TOLEDO SCHOOLS. Speaker: John Gaige, SWP. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

...Queens

Continued from page 15

white evacuation. For example, many language classes have been canceled and 67 percent of the students are reading two years behind their level.

Testifying against desegregation, State Rep. James Scheuer said any attempt to alter this situation would instigate "white flight" from Queens. But studies have disproven the myth that desegregation causes whites to flee from urban areas. Judge Dooling, presiding over another desegregation controversy in nearby Forest Hills, ruled that the false argument of "white flight" was irrelevant.

In the Andrew Jackson case, the judge said that white students transferring out of the school "left the rest there to rot. And that's what this case is all about."

"Jackson is not offering quality integrated education," Dooling said.

On May 17 Jerome McFarland, head of Jackson's Parents Association, testified that the fight for desegregation would continue regardless of the suit's outcome. "We are determined to do what the South did," he said. "We want to see that Black and white youngsters have a chance to learn with and from each other."

...DES

Continued from page 18

there are thousands and thousands of women under nineteen."

Lyons is twenty-nine. For her and others her age, the concern now is menopause. "It may be the hormonal changes during menopause bring on cancer or some other difficulty, we just

don't know because none of us have reached that age yet," she says.

She and other DES daughters in New York City are forming a group like those in several other cities that will concern itself with public education. They plan to reach other women who may not know they are in danger, and they want to try to educate the medical profession.

"I saw my own gynecologist yesterday, and he said that few doctors know about this or how to test for it," Lyons said.

She thinks the drug companies should finance the periodic examinations that are essential for DES daughters. "Some women have had their health insurance canceled. They were told it's a preexisting condition. Some were put in high risk pools."

The insurance companies were obviously not mollified by Dr. Herbst's "calming" report.

...transit

Continued from page 27

ed Transit Union and the Transport Workers Union (TWU) to demand that the government provide job protection for every transit worker in both public and private systems.

This would serve a twofold purpose. It would ensure the transit workers' right to a job. And it would guard against service cutbacks for the public.

In addition, bold initiatives demanding that the government institute massive new programs to develop and expand transit systems are needed from the unions.

The ATU and TWU are both on

record favoring universal free mass transit. This idea should be actively fought for along with other unions, community groups, Black, Latino, and Chicano organizations, and all those who have a stake in seeing a free, effective transit system.

The unions under their current leaderships have neither the desire nor ability to organize a fight for these demands. The transit unions in this country, like other unions, are bound and gagged by the Democratic party.

During the recent presidential election the ATU poured tens of thousands of dollars into the election of Jimmy Carter. That money would have been better spent building independent labor political action through a labor party.

Labor candidates could have demanded that transit workers' jobs be protected. They could have fought for free mass transit.

This would have been far more appealing to transit workers than a strategy of supporting the very people who are assisting management in attacking us.

Only by adopting a new strategy, a strategy of independence from the bosses and from the government, can significant steps be taken to defend transit workers and the riding public.

...Houston

Continued from back page

Torres's aunt. "Firing them is not enough justice. We don't want any vengeance. We just want justice."

Some 500 people rallied at Our Lady

ning of May, the council explained the principle involved is "the relationship of confidence and trust which is essential to the functioning of the religious community" and the "freedom of association and exercise of advocacy by [church] members and staff."

The resolutions appeared to implicitly criticize the stance of John Allin, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, who dissociated himself from the women and gave the government unrestricted access to all records at the church's national headquarters.

The NCC governing board unanimously instructed its president to appoint a commission to meet with Allin and "aid him in securing the early

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of Guadalupe Church May 12 to demand full prosecution of the killer-cops. Those attending the rally approved a resolution calling for investigations by the U.S. Justice Department and by a "group of independent citizens from the communities terrorized by police brutality."

The Rev. Jack McGinnis told the rally that Torres's death had not been an isolated case. McGinnis was active in the movement protesting the March 1976 police murder of Milton Glover, a twenty-eight-year-old Black.

McGinnis also has been active in the movement protesting the beating of Demas Benoit, Jr., a twenty-one-year-old Black who had his head bashed against his porch steps by a squadron of cops. McGinnis witnessed that beating.

Alan Dean Nichols, one of the cops at the scene, found the beating of Benoit too much to stomach and told the truth. A police board that "investigated" the incident recommended that Nichols be punished for leaving his post during the arrest.

"Torres wouldn't have died if it hadn't been an accepted practice in the police department to beat up Mexicans and Blacks," McGinnis told the rally.

Joe Campos Torres, Sr., and Margaret Torres, the dead man's father and mother, also addressed the rally.

"My son was killed like he was a nobody. Is that the way to pay a boy who served his country?" Torres's father asked. The younger Torres had spent two years in the army.

"... I don't want this happening again to other people's children," Torres's father said. "We must stick together so it won't happen to any other children in Houston or any other city."

release of the two women, to restore their salaries and to pay their legal expenses."

A general resolution on grand juries said "the use of the grand jury's powers to harass and pursue political dissidents is a departure from its proper constitutional function. . . ."

The resolution urged churches not to hand over names or records without the consent of the people affected, adding that churches should give "moral and material support" to members or employees who refuse to cooperate with a grand jury.

The National Council of Churches includes thirty-one denominations with a combined membership of forty million.

Church group defends grand jury victims

By José G. Pérez

The governing board of the National Council of Churches (NCC) has spoken out in defense of two women church workers who have been imprisoned for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury.

The women, María Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, had been the full-time staff of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs. The federal grand jury that imprisoned them claims to be investigating the

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation), a mysterious group that reportedly has taken credit for many bombings.

Cueto and Nemikin say they know nothing of the FALN or the whereabouts of a Hispanic commission member who cops claim might be an FALN member.

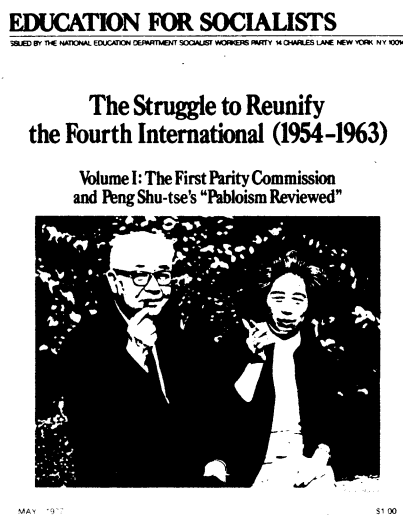
They said they would not testify before the grand jury because it was conducting a fishing expedition against the Puerto Rican independence movement and trampling on freedom of religion, speech, and association in the process.

In unanimous resolutions approved by its governing board at the begin-

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MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109. Tel: (313) 663-8306.

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Detroit, Southwest: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 4210 W. Vernor Hwy., Detroit, Mich. 48209. Tel: (313) 849-3491.

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Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: City-wide SWP, YSA, 808 E. Franklin Ave., Room 3, Mpls., Minn. 55404. Tel: (612) 870-1284.

Southside Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 23 E. Lake St., Mpls., Minn. 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663.

Westbank Minneapolis: SWP, Militant Bookstore,

510 20th Ave. So., Lower Level, Mpls., Minn. 55454. Tel: (612) 338-5093.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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Northside St. Louis: 4875 Natural Bridge Rd., St. Louis, Mo. 63115. Tel: (314) 381-0044.

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Las Vegas: YSA, Highlands University, c/o Felipe Martinez, 1010 Douglas, Las Vegas, N.M. 87701. Tel: (505) 425-9224.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

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Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlisle Ct., Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

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Seattle: City-wide SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 524-6670.

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Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53216. Tel: (414) 442-8170.

THE MILITANT

1,000 rally in Chicago

'Ratify the ERA'

By Randi Lawrence

CHICAGO—"We will never give up."

"Anatomy is not destiny—pass the ERA."

"Our rights are not negotiable."

These were the slogans—expressed in chants, on signs, and in speeches and songs—at a march and rally for the Equal Rights Amendment here Saturday, May 14.

More than 1,000 women and men gathered to demand that state legislators pass the ERA in Illinois—"the stone-age state," as many signs dubbed it. The amendment comes up for a vote once again during the next few weeks.

The demonstration was organized by the Committee for the ERA, a coalition of organizations and individuals.

In the weeks preceding the march, radio and TV stations and daily newspapers carried news of the ERA action. On the day of the demonstration, the Chicago *Sun-Times* editorialized, "The march in Chicago should remind legislators that it's time for Illinois to approve ERA. Equality before the law for all citizens should be delayed no longer."

Campus and community groups held public events on the ERA to publicize the action. At the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, a week of special women's activities helped get out the word.

An important part of this buildup activity was the formation of the Black Women's Task Force for ERA. This group grew out of the Committee for the ERA. It addressed the special needs of Black women and helped counter the myth that Black women do not need or support the ERA.

On the morning of the rally, the weekly meeting of Operation PUSH heard a talk on the ERA by members of the task force.

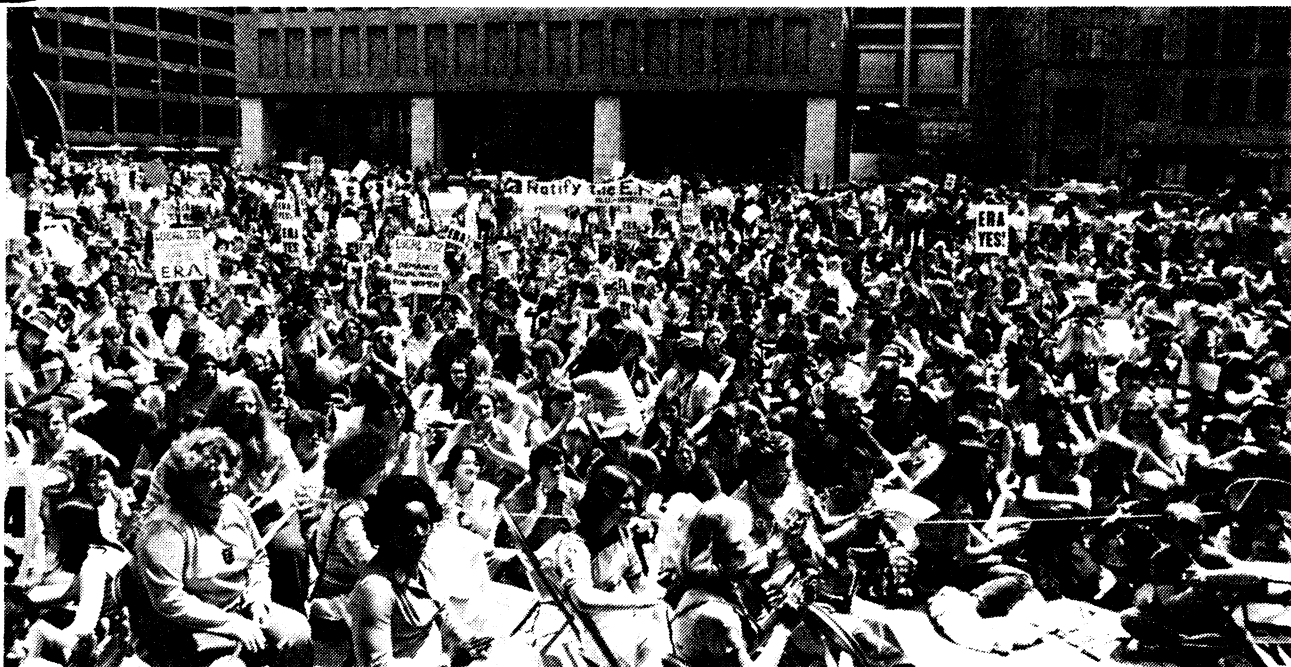
Regrettably, the Chicago chapter of the National Organization for Women did not throw its support to the ERA action.

Last year on May 16, Chicago NOW was a leading force in organizing the national ERA march of 8,000 in Springfield, Illinois.

This year, Chicago NOW not only declined to support or build the action, it organized conflicting activities on the same day in electoral districts throughout the city where legislators have voted against the ERA in the past.

In addition, NOW's state council scheduled a meeting in Peoria for the day of the action.

Nevertheless, people came to the rally from throughout the state, including NOW members from Peoria and Champaign. Other women came from



Equal rights supporters at Daley Center

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

states as far away as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Iowa.

More than twenty speakers and entertainers addressed the crowd at Chicago's Daley Center. Speakers included representatives from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000; Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union Local 300; National Alliance of Black Feminists; Lakeview Latin American Coalition; Socialist Workers party; ERA Illinois; various Chicago politicians; religious groups; campus women's groups; and International Women's Year Commission.

Two speakers received with particular enthusiasm were Tina Muscare, a young football player who fought for, and won, her right to play in the Chicago Park District Junior League, and Iris Rivera, a secretary who regained her job after being fired at the state defender's office for refusing to make coffee for her boss.

Alderwoman Esther Saperstein urged women to organize to expose the opposition's distortions and lies about the ERA.

Tina Adachi, co-coordinator of the Committee for the ERA, pointed out that these anti-ERA groups gain support from such right-wing forces as the Nazi party and John Birch Society. They must be

answered by a strong, united women's movement, she said.

"We will rally here, in Springfield, and in every town in this state if necessary . . . and if mail makes a difference, we'll dump truckloads of mail on the legislators' lawns," declared Marion Wagner, president of Indianapolis NOW.

"Women fighting against attacks on our right to abortion and against forced sterilization, as well as for the ERA, must come together in a massive, strong, and bold women's movement," said Pat Grogan to an enthusiastic response. Grogan is campaign manager for Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Dennis Brasky.

Brenda Eichelberger of the National Alliance of Black Feminists emphasized that Black women need to fight for the ERA to guarantee their rights as women, just as they needed to fight for legislation to guarantee their rights as Black people.

Hundreds of women signed up to work with the Committee for the ERA and the Black Women's Task Force on future activities.

As Sue Shaeffer of the University of Illinois, Circle Campus Women's Center said, "We have met and rallied, and we will be back here again and again until we win!"

STOP HOUSTON POLICE TERROR!

Chicanos demand state, federal prosecution of killer cops

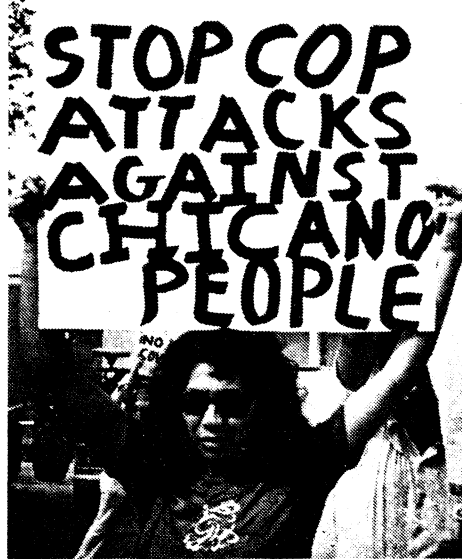
By Arturo Ramírez

HOUSTON—One cop has been charged with murder, four others fired from the force, and one suspended for their involvement in the brutal drowning murder of a twenty-three-year-old Chicano.

Despite these moves, an outraged Chicano community here is demanding that all officers involved in the killing be indicted. The community is also demanding that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and U.S. Justice Department intervene in the case to prepare federal charges against the six police officers.

On the night of Thursday, May 5, Joe Campos Torres, Jr., was in a bar. He got into a dispute. The barkeeper called the police.

Six cops showed up, arrested Torres,



Militant/Tom Vernier

and took him down to the jail. The supervisor there refused to jail Torres, however, ordering the officers to take him to a hospital because he had been severely beaten.

Instead, the cops took Torres to the Buffalo Bayou, beat him, and pushed him off a twenty-five-foot-high retaining wall. The body was found the following Sunday.

Police officials reacted by trying to contain the scandal. First they set up an internal affairs unit to "investigate." Then one of the cops involved was charged with murder. Then the six cops were suspended. Then five of the six were fired.

But the Chicano community was not satisfied. "They need to get what they deserve," said Helen Pérez,

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